

History for Hire in Sixteenth-Century Italy: Onofrio Panvinio's Histories of Roman Families

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ABSTRACT: Onofrio Panvinio was hired by sixteenth-century Roman families to write their histories and, where necessary, be prepared to bend the facts to suit their interests, which occasionally entailed a bit of forgery, usually involving tampering with specific words in documents. In most respects, however, Panvinio employed the same techniques--archival research and material evidence such as tombs and inscriptions--which distinguished his papal and ecclesiastical histories. This suggests that genealogy, despite being commissioned by aristocratic families to glorify their ancestries, can be seen as a more serious field of historical investigation than is often assumed. Yet the contours of this genre of history for hire in sixteenth-century Italian historiography are nowhere near exact. Panvinio struck a balance between fulfilling the expectations of the noble families who commissioned him and following his own scholarly instincts as an historian, but he nevertheless did not seek their publication. By contrast, Alfonso Ceccarelli, who also composed family histories, veered considerably in the direction of flattering his patrons, even forging entire papal and imperial privileges. Indeed, he was condemned to death for the forgery of wills concerning the property rights of nobles.

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Introduction¹

The Italian friar Onofrio Panvinio (1530–1568) was a historian and an antiquarian. A member of a great mendicant order (the Hermits of St Augustine), he published works on both Roman antiquity and papal history.² Among his works on ancient Rome, the best known are his edition of the *Fasti* (Calendars of Ancient Rome), his *Commentaries on the Roman Republic*, and his *Roman Emperors*, all published in 1558. The *Fasti* also contained a treatise on ancient Roman names, which betrayed Panvinio's interest in family history.³ Amid his published works on papal history, his short history of the papacy and his continuation of Platina's *Lives of the Popes* stand out.⁴ Further works on ecclesiastical history remained unpublished. These included a large unfinished *Church History* and a history of papal elections (*De varia creatione Romani pontificis*), which, although completed, Panvinio hesitated to publish. In *De varia creatione* he touched on points that were highly sensitive for the Counter-Reformation papacy. By discussing the various forms of papal elections throughout history, he presented change, discord and diversity through the centuries. In the aftermath of the Protestant Reformation--and to counter Protestant claims that the Catholic Church had been corrupted during the Middle Ages--Catholics usually stressed the unchanging character of their church and its

traditions since apostolic times. In a humanist spirit, Panvinio also criticized the church's greed for power since the eleventh century. Rather than ignoring historical facts derived from his sources, Panvinio thus chose to include material which directly challenged the notions of the prevailing orthodoxy.⁵ He worked with narrative sources, chronicles, archival sources (such as papal bulls), and epigraphic material (such as inscriptions which he found on buildings and funerary monuments).⁶

Catholic historiography became confessionalized from the top down from 1588 onwards, when Cesare Baronio published his *Annales ecclesiastici*. Gaining the approval of the church hierarchy, this work became the standard version of Catholic church history.⁷ Before the 1580s, however, a creative interplay existed between, on the one hand, the endeavours of authors to explore the past and, on the other hand, the constraints of patronage and ideology placed on them. Panvinio is an example of this more open and imaginative phase of history-writing in Rome.

Genealogical studies remained hugely popular in the sixteenth century, despite humanist claims that nobility derived from virtue rather than from ancestry.⁸ As Anthony Grafton has pointed out, genealogical fantasies flourished in the sixteenth century. Annius of Viterbo claimed he had discovered the founder of the Druids; Wolfgang Lazius maintained that the Viennese descended from the Jews. At the same time, other scholars, such as Reiner Reineccius, developed methods for critical historical genealogy.⁹ Panvinio, too, took a judicious approach to genealogical studies when, about 1555, he started to devote himself to the composition of histories of Roman aristocratic families. Panvinio had recently lost his patron, Pope Marcello Cervini, who had died three weeks after being elected to the papal throne in 1555, and Panvinio's relationship to his most

important future patron, Cardinal Alessandro Farnese, was only just beginning. At this point Panvinio had to look for new sponsors, and he therefore brought his substantial historical talent to bear on genealogical research into Roman noble families. As we will see, he was able to draw on his interests in both ancient Roman and medieval history, and to apply his mastery of scholarly techniques to the field of genealogy. He applied these techniques to the histories of the Savelli, Frangipane, Massimo, and Mattei families, on each of which he wrote a separate work.

This article, firstly, shows that genealogy was a more serious scholarly pursuit than has often been assumed; secondly, it sheds light on the position of this genre in Italy. It has been claimed that the study of genealogy in the early modern period constituted a challenge to the Western notion of rationality. Rationality, in this sense, is best understood as a counterpoint to absurdity.¹⁰ Often in genealogies, a mythical character was placed at the beginning of an entirely implausible family tree, the authenticity of which was accepted even by critical minds. Such a mode of thinking was perhaps owing to the religious foundations of thought which were still ubiquitous; the endless genealogies in the Bible provided an influential model.¹¹

Genealogy, as the most ancient form of historical writing, had its own rules. Despite the fictional quality of the genealogical constructions, certain limits of plausibility had to be observed.¹² The past was held up as a mirror for the present, with the purpose of explaining how the powerful families of the present had inherited virtues from their ancestors. In doing so, the families had a fine sensitivity to the competitive character of family trees. A Roman family could not lay claim, therefore, to ancient ancestors who were beyond their reach in terms of status. This is why the Colonna, as a baronial family,

were able to trace their origins back to Julius Caesar, whereas the Massimo, who were essentially merchants and possessed a less elevated rank, could only point to a consul as their foundation. The ancestors communicated and displayed the rank of a family in the social order of sixteenth-century Rome, especially at a time when more and more newcomers and foreigners were moving into the city. When such unwritten rules were observed, genealogical inventions were hardly ever called into question, unless manifest claims to property and privileges were concerned (as in the case of Alfonso Ceccarelli's inventions, which will be examined below).¹³

For all these reasons, it is not helpful to maintain that during the sixteenth century genealogy had almost nothing to do with history.¹⁴ Genealogy was not substantially, as Eric Cochrane believed, a separate genre; rather, in a way that challenges our imagination, it could be part of historical scholarship. Still, the fact that notions of critical scrutiny of sources could be suspended in favour of a belief in mythical family heroes makes us wonder about the peculiar rules by which sixteenth-century historians played. Grafton has cautioned us not to assume that these scholars had a different notion of historical truth than ours; but it remains puzzling that even those scholars who otherwise practiced rigorous historical research sometimes broke their own rules.¹⁵ One is tempted to speak of the alterity or 'otherness' of the sixteenth century, which parallels that of the Middle Ages. Both medieval and early modern historians did not always abide by the principles of objectivity and authenticity to which historiography aspired.¹⁶ Scholars and their patrons understood that genealogy was competitive and thus potentially speculative. Cynicism, credulity, and scholarly earnestness were all mixed together in the family histories which will be examined below. Before discussing the histories of the Savelli,

Frangipane, Massimo, and Mattei, it will be useful to see why genealogical works could sometimes be life-threatening.

Threats and Punishments

In 1558 a hot-blooded young nobleman, Alberico Cibo Malaspina, threatened Panvinio with physical harm, even announcing that he would kill him. Cibo, the marquis of Massa, was fuming because Panvinio had misrepresented--and thus disrespected--his family's ancestry.¹⁷ In his *Epitome* of papal history of 1557, Panvinio had stated that Pope Innocent VIII (Giovanni Battista Cibo, r. 1484–1492) had come from an undistinguished, though honourable, family. In his *Roman Popes (Romani pontifices)* of later the same year, Panvinio had added that the pope's father was a medical doctor.¹⁸ How did Panvinio arrive at these statements? He simply copied the references to the pope's modest background from one of the sixteenth-century editions of Platina's *Lives*, containing a biography of Innocent VIII written by an unknown author, who had probably taken the sentence from the world chronicle of the Augustinian Hermit Giacomo Filippo Foresti (1485).¹⁹ In short, all Panvinio added was the word *medicus*, his source for which is not known. Panvinio's contemporary Alberico Cibo Malaspina (1534–1623) and his historical adviser Francesco Maria Cibo protested violently against this statement, demanding that the nobility of their ancestors should be recognized. They were shrewd enough to protest only the word *medicus*, since they were probably aware that the rest of the statements were taken by Panvinio from other sources.

And they were entitled to complain. The pope's father, Aaron Cibo, had in fact been a leading member of the military campaign in the Neapolitan war of succession in the first half of the fifteenth century, where the Genoese sided with René of Anjou. After René's defeat, Aaron managed to become an official of the victorious Alfonso V of Aragon. This was attested by the Ligurian historian Bartolomeo Facio (1408–1457), who, in his account of the deeds of Alfonso, referred to Aaron as a 'commander' (*dux*) in the war. Alberico Cibo sponsored the first edition of Facio's work in 1560, where this fact was not only mentioned in the text, but also stressed in the preface.²⁰ Later scholars have confirmed Aaron's important diplomatic and military role in Naples.²¹

Alberico's kinsman Francesco Maria Cibo, in April 1558, sent a letter to Panvinio to complain, suggesting that the doctor was a knight ('ordinis equestris') and providing a list of further proofs about the noble ancestry of his family. In another letter, from June, he reminded Panvinio of Facio's work.²² Writing to Alberico in November 1558, Francesco Maria reported that he found an additional noble connection: the Cibo were also related to the family of Pope Boniface IX (Pietro Tomacelli, r. 1389–1404).²³ In the same letter he referred to Panvinio as an 'ignorant man' (*brodaiolo*) and 'clumsy person' (*goffo*), and to Giacomo Filippo Foresti as a 'worthless friar' (*fratuzzo*). He speculated as to why Panvinio might be so hostile towards Innocent VIII and came up with the theory that this hostility was rooted in an incident from the youth of Alessandro Farnese the Elder. Alessandro had allegedly poisoned his own mother and was held in prison by Innocent VIII. Francesco Maria concluded that when Alessandro became pope as Paul III (r. 1534–1549), he treated the Cibo family unjustly in a spirit of vengeance for his imprisonment. According to Francesco Maria, Panvinio, with his close connections to the Farnese, must

have been influenced by this bias. To add more insult to injury, Panvinio had exalted the nobility of Pope Julius III (Giovanni Maria del Monte, r. 1550–1555), who, according to Francesco Maria, was definitely not a nobleman. In this way the affair, based on the single word *medicus*, appeared to be part of a larger scheme of hostility to the Cibo family.

It is true that in his *Epitome* of 1557, Panvinio had referred to Julius III as coming from a ‘noble and honoured family’; yet he deleted the remark in his *Roman Popes* later in the same year. Strictly speaking, therefore, the Cibo no longer had any reason to complain about the reference to Julius’s nobility.²⁴ There was not a shred of truth, however, to the story that the elder Alessandro Farnese poisoned his mother: it derived from an anonymous invective against Paul III put into circulation by some of his enemies in 1549.²⁵ Nonetheless, Alessandro was indeed imprisoned in Castel Sant’Angelo under Innocent VIII. Panvinio described this in the biography of Paul III in his editions of Platina’s *Lives*: in the first version of 1562, without stating any reason, except fickle fortune, for Alessandro’s imprisonment; in the second of 1568, citing an unspecified disagreement between Alessandro and his mother.²⁶ Since these biographies were definitely authorized by the Farnese, it must be true that Paul III spent some time in prison; that he was hostile to the Cibo family for this reason, on the other hand, is pure conjecture.

It is well known that relations between Paul III and Cardinal Innocenzo Cibo (1491–1550) were openly hostile. A testament to this strained relationship is that Paul III and Innocenzo’s sister Caterina quarrelled bitterly over the marriage of her daughter Giulia. There was also a lengthy territorial dispute between Innocenzo Cibo, Alberico Cibo, and

Alessandro Farnese the Younger over the city of Vetralla in Latium.²⁷ As a result, Innocenzo Cibo left Rome in 1535 and waited out the end of Paul III's reign in Florence and elsewhere. Unfortunately for the Cibo family, Innocenzo survived Paul for only a short while. The cardinal died in April 1550, two months after the conclave which had resulted in the election of Julius III. In addition to the disappointment of failing to be elected pope himself, it must have been an especially sour experience for Innocenzo--as the dean of the college of cardinals--to perform the new pope's consecration. We do not know if Innocenzo's disappointment and bitterness helped to bring on his death, which resulted in the family losing large sources of income.²⁸ This is why Francesco Maria Cibo eagerly took up accusations made in the anonymous invective against Paul and was sensitive about Panvinio's pointing out the nobility of Julius III, the man who had deprived Innocent Cibo of the papacy.

Panvinio heeded the advice of his friend, the historian Carlo Sigonio, to take seriously the displeasure of the Cibo family. As Sigonio warned him in October 1558, Alberico Cibo was threatening his life ('vi minaccia nella vita'), after he had heard that Panvinio had laughed off his complaints ('vene siete riso'). This may, or may not, have been an exaggeration on Sigonio's part; at any rate, he finished on a sombre note: 'it is no laughing matter to have to deal with rich and indignant young men'. Two months later, Alberico Cibo's actions became even more threatening when he charged one of his 'gentlemen' with explaining 'some things' in person to Panvinio, who was in Parma.²⁹

Alberico Cibo was obsessed with the reputation of his family, and during his long life engaged in his service writers such as Uberto Foglietta, Paolo Manuzio, Francesco Sansovino, and others.³⁰ Sansovino, for example, edited Foresti's world chronicle with a

dedication to Alberico Cibo. Not surprisingly, Foresti's original sentence about the father of Pope Innocent VIII was changed: the Cibo family was now 'noble and honoured'.³¹

Sansovino, it emerges, had censored Foresti as a favour to Alberico.

Whatever concrete forms the pressure on Panvinio, or blackmailing of him, may have taken, the effect was clear. In his edition of Platina's *Lives of the Popes* of 1562, Panvinio published a biography of Innocent VIII which contained a bloated opening section filled with praise for the Cibo family and its ancestry. The Genoese Cibo were now nobles originating from Greece; they had migrated from Greece to Naples and assumed the name Tomacelli; but the branch of the family which moved on to Genoa retained the original Greek name 'Cybo'. After enumerating various prominent medieval members of the Cibo family, Panvinio finally arrived at Innocent VIII's father, who was, of course, a knight ('equestris ordinis vir'), as Francesco Maria Cibo had insisted.³² Passing over the question of whether the facts about the medieval Cibo in Panvinio's account are historically correct, we can note that two points are clear: first, the genealogical connections to Greece are doubtless imaginary; second, Panvinio had previously been wrong in referring to Innocent's father as a doctor. After Panvinio's act of submission, the marquis seems to have rewarded him, and in 1568 Panvinio dedicated to him an entire work: a series of engraved papal portraits. In the preface, Panvinio praised, in addition to the family's nobility, its generosity.³³

It is not surprising that Alberico Cibo also engaged the most notorious forger of genealogies of the sixteenth century, Alfonso Ceccarelli (1532–1583). Both a physician and a writer, Ceccarelli fulfilled Cibo's burning desire for genealogical fame.³⁴ In his history of the Cibo family, he inserted false papal and imperial privileges. In fact,

Ceccarelli derived a large part of his income from writing fictitious genealogical and historical works, as is shown by his private diary. When it was discovered that Ceccarelli had also committed the more serious crime of meddling with wills and other documents concerning the property rights of nobles, he was put on trial. During his hearings before the tribunal of the Camera Apostolica, his false genealogies were also exposed, with Alberico Cibo serving as a key witness. Ceccarelli was sentenced to death and on 9 July 1583 decapitated at Ponte Sant' Angelo in Rome.³⁵

It would take later historical writers considerable time to repair the damage Ceccarelli had wrought by spreading false information. Although his forgeries are, on the whole, rather primitive, his life and the composition and reception of his 'works' would make an absorbing subject for a modern monograph. In terms of the confusion he caused in the sixteenth century, Ceccarelli was perhaps second only to Annius of Viterbo, who had woven together into a single history of the world newly-invented ancient myths, biblical history, and Trojan legends. A copy of Annius's popular *Commentaries on Various Authors Discussing Antiquities* (1498) was part of Panvinio's personal library when he was a student.³⁶ The example of Annius shows that forgery in the sixteenth century could have a polyvalent character. Annius's forgeries not only annoyed contemporaries but also played a productive role in the history of scholarship. In dealing with Annius's inventions, philologists and historians at the time were able to sharpen their critical methods.³⁷

Savelli

Panvinio's *De gente Sabella* (On the Savelli Family) contains an example of a small falsification which had momentous consequences. Composed in 1555–1556, this work survives in three manuscripts with two different dedicatees.³⁸ The first version was dedicated to Cardinal Giacomo Savelli (1523–1587). The connection to this cardinal may have been twofold. Not only was Savelli the administrator of Marcello Cervini's former diocese of Gubbio (May 1555–February 1556), but he was also the grandson of Camilla Farnese, a cousin of Paul III, who created him a cardinal in 1539. The preface is dated 'Rome, 1 September', without indication of a year, while the colophon states that the transcription of the manuscript was finished in Frascati on 7 October 1587--that is, just two months before Savelli's death on 5 December. The hand is that of the poet and historian Giulio Roscio, who was connected to the cardinal and who himself also put together material on the history of the Savelli family.³⁹ When, on 16 December 1587, the *Avvisi di Roma* recorded Pope Sixtus V's wish for Panvinio's works to be published, it was also mentioned that Panvinio had been a *familiare* of both cardinals, Farnese and Savelli.⁴⁰ Giacomo Savelli was cardinal-bishop of Frascati in the last years of his life. As an old man, he was still very much interested in family history; for example, when Sixtus V set out to demolish the old Lateran palace, Savelli bought the two bronze doors which, as their inscriptions stated, had been commissioned by Cencius Camerarius (later Pope Honorius III, r. 1216–1227). The cardinal believed that the papal chamberlain Cencio had been a Savelli.⁴¹

In his preface to *De gente Sabella*, Panvinio said that he was commissioned by the cardinal to collect documents on the history of the Savelli which were scattered

throughout various books. He decided to transcribe the relevant passages, always indicating where he had found them, and to gather them together in one place. In this way, the cardinal would have a convenient compilation of sources illustrating nearly four hundred years of the deeds of his ancestors. Giacomo Savelli's interest in family history was also documented by the fact that during the pontificate of Paul III he had saved the statue of Pope Honorius IV (Giacomo Savelli, r. 1285–1287) in St Peter's Basilica from imminent destruction by arranging for it to be transferred to the family chapel in Santa Maria in Aracoeli.⁴²

The other manuscript of *De gente Sabella* carries a dedication to Flaminio Savelli, dated 1 May 1556. This version is considerably longer and contains several parts of the text not yet included in the version dedicated to Giacomo.⁴³ In the much longer preface, Panvinio offered an entirely different account. He first presented some considerations about how historiography could preserve men's fame and then went on to say that he had started to collect material on the Savelli on his own initiative. Only when he had mentioned this to his good friend Angelo Massarelli (1510–1566) did Massarelli convince him that it would be a good idea to put together a book and send it to Flaminio Savelli. Massarelli was most dear ('amantissimus') to Flaminio, and Panvinio, too, hoped to find a patron in him.⁴⁴ Not much is known about Flaminio Savelli except that in 1545 the pope sent him on a mission to Worms, where he carried both a letter to the emperor and a cardinal's hat for the bishop of Augsburg, Otto Truchsess von Waldburg. It appears that he was a relative of Paul III and as *domicellus* or *cameriere* had a ceremonial function at the papal court. He wrote his will in 1578, leaving no direct heirs.⁴⁵

The Savelli might have expected Panvinio to trace their line of ancestry back to ancient Rome, which was common in family genealogies at the time. Panvinio, however, did not even mention such legends and instead followed *monumenta* ('monuments'); by these he meant both inscriptions on stone and documentary sources on paper or parchment. He began the story with Aimerico, the father of Cencio 'Savelli', who rose to the papacy as Honorius III.⁴⁶ Panvinio transcribed inscriptions from the Lateran illustrating Cencio's life prior to his pontificate. After citing documents from the Vatican Registers regarding Honorius III's papacy, he offered a selection of passages from chronicles. These were, first, the medieval chronicle of the 'Abbot of Ursberg' (Abbas Urspergensis), which Panvinio consulted in a Protestant edition.⁴⁷ He then cited two texts dealing with medieval church history: the *Chronicle of Popes and Emperors* by Martin of Troppau (d. 1278) and the *Church History* by Ptolemy of Lucca (d. c.1327). Next came two texts in Italian of the fourteenth century. This is unusual for historical works in Panvinio's time, which were still usually based on Latin sources. These two texts were Giovanni Villani's *Florentine Chronicle* and the *Lives of Popes and Emperors* thought to be by Petrarch.⁴⁸ Next came Dietrich of Niem (d. 1418), to whom Panvinio wrongly ascribed a life of Honorius III, and the world chronicle of St Antoninus (d. 1459). He then inserted Platina's biography of Honorius III.⁴⁹ Panvinio mentioned that for his research he had consulted the libraries of Giambattista Salomoni degli Alberteschi and Cardinal Agostino Trivulzio (d. 1548); in both libraries he found annotations to Platina's *Lives of the Popes*.⁵⁰

For other Savelli family members, especially Pope Honorius IV, Panvinio used similar sources. One additional type of source worth mentioning is tombs, for which he gave

descriptions.⁵¹ He finished *De gente Sabella* with a brief profile of Cardinal Giovanni Battista Savelli (d. 1498). In the conclusion, he pointed out that he had included hardly a tenth ('vix decimam partem') of the material which he had found in his own library and those of others. He admitted that his text had been written in some haste ('tumultuario magis quam iusto labore') and expressed his hope to compose another book on the family soon.⁵² Modern research has revealed that Panvinio falsified documents and that Honorius III (Cencius Camerarius) did not actually belong to the Savelli clan.⁵³ Panvinio was one of the first to claim that Honorius III belonged to the Savelli family. For reasons to be explained in the following section, others have followed suit until the present day. That Honorius IV, who was undoubtedly a Savelli, took the same name, Honorius, as pope made it a simple argument for Panvinio. To maintain that Cencio was a Savelli, Panvinio first falsified a privilege of Pope Celestine III (r. 1191–1198). The genuine bull, from the archives of the monastery of San Benedetto di Polirone near Mantua, is now in the Archivio di Stato of Milan. Because it is published, one can easily make a comparison. This was the initial document cited in Panvinio's text.⁵⁴ It is striking that prior to this citation, he claimed that he intended to use evidence only from 'monuments'; but with the first example he already misled the reader. Where the authentic bull stated that it was issued 'at St Peter's by Cencio, Cardinal Deacon of Santa Lucia in Orthea, chamberlain of the pope', Panvinio made a change and an interpolation. He changed 'St Peter's' to the 'Lateran'; after 'Cencio', he added 'Savelli' (*de Sabello*).⁵⁵

Next, he mentioned that there was another bull of Celestine III in the archives of the same monastery, similar to this one, but from the following year, 1195. Panvinio did not, however, quote from this bull. If we compare this second bull in a modern edition, we

find that here Cencio did indeed produce it at the Lateran, not at St Peter's. It seems clear that since the second bull was issued at the Lateran, Panvinio felt that it was acceptable to alter the location of the first bull.⁵⁶

It is interesting that Panvinio then cited inscriptions from the two bronze doors at the Lateran Palace which Cencio had commissioned as a chamberlain in 1195–1196.⁵⁷ Here Cencio was not named Savelli, but only specified as 'Cencius Camerarius'. Evidently, Panvinio did not dare to make interpolations in inscriptions which were open for all to see, whereas it was much harder to verify bulls in a monastery near Mantua. The bronze doors can still be seen today in the Lateran: one of them is now in the cloister, the other in the baptistery in the chapel of St John the Evangelist. As seen above, Giacomo Savelli bought the doors to prevent their destruction.

Panvinio next found support from a well-known printed book: Paolo Cortesi's treatise on the rules of behaviour for cardinals (*De cardinalatu*, 1510), where Cencio was named 'Cencius Sabellus'.⁵⁸ Among the appointments to the cardinalate made by Honorius III, Panvinio listed 'Tommaso Savelli, his nephew' ('Thomas de Sabello, nepos suus'). Again, this was an invention, as Thomas of Capua, the cardinal of Santa Sabina, was not a Savelli. His last name was not known in the sixteenth century, and it was Panvinio's own decision to make him a Savelli. Panvinio claimed that in the Registers of Pope Gregory IX, kept in the Vatican Library, 'he is frequently named the nephew of Honorius III' ('saepius Honorii III nepos appellatur').⁵⁹ Tellingly, Panvinio did not cite a passage from the registers--because no such passages exist. Indeed, it has recently been shown that Thomas belonged to the *de Ebulo* family from Capua.⁶⁰

Returning to more readily available sources, such as the chronicle of the ‘Abbot of Ursberg’, Panvinio refrained from making an interpolation, so that Cencio remained Cencio, the chamberlain.⁶¹ In the world chronicle of St Antoninus, archbishop of Florence (d. 1459), he again found support. Here Honorius III was ‘a Roman, Savelli’.⁶² In the glosses written in a--perhaps intentionally--unidentified old copy of Platina, Honorius III was also a Savelli.⁶³

When discussing Luca Savelli, the first family member for whom there is secure evidence, Panvinio again forged a link to Honorius III. First, he claimed--or, rather, thought (‘ut existimo’)--that he was the brother of Thomas, the cardinal. He then cited, from the Registers of Gregory IX, a document relating to an insurrection of the Roman commune against this pope in 1234. Luca Savelli, who had become a senator in the same year, seems to have been the leader of the revolt.⁶⁴ Panvinio first quoted from the document which illustrated the conditions of the peace imposed by the pope on the commune on 12 April 1235. He changed the wording at the end of his quotation where Luca Savelli was mentioned and interpolated the words ‘the nephew of the late lord Pope Honorius III’.⁶⁵ While his alteration of the wording may have merely been a form of summarizing, the addition of the detail that Luca was a nephew of the pope represented a clear falsification. The other document which Panvinio cited in support of this case was the anathema of 1234, by which the pope excommunicated ‘Luca Savelli, the nephew of Pope Honorius III of blessed memory’.⁶⁶ It is unlikely that, in such a document, a pope would mention a family relation of one of his predecessors. After all, Luca Savelli was ‘the most ardent asserter of civic rights and autonomy who lived in the thirteenth century’

(Paolo Brezzi), and it would have been embarrassing to draw attention to the fact that he was the pope's nephew.⁶⁷

The manner in which Panvinio's falsification of documents should be viewed is open to debate. To begin with, Helene Tillmann deserves credit for having discovered the changes made by Panvinio. Her findings were put into doubt by Renato Lefevre, but then confirmed by Sandro Carocci, who identified the original documents. Tillmann was not, however, correct in claiming that Panvinio was the first to trace the Savelli lineage back to Honorius III. As we have seen, Panvinio himself, in his text, presented two examples of other well-known authorities (St Antoninus and Paolo Cortesi) who had made this claim. Panvinio could hardly deny common opinion in a family history by means of which he hoped to acquire new patronage. My assumption is that he was very eager to find a new patron after Marcello Cervini's death. It may be significant that Giacomo Savelli, as indicated above, was Cervini's successor in the diocese of Gubbio from May 1555 to February 1556. Panvinio's statement that he hoped the work might 'grant' him 'a patron' can be read in this sense.⁶⁸

Although this is no excuse for falsifying papal bulls, Panvinio may have assumed that the work would not circulate widely, and, indeed, he never attempted to publish it. The intended audience was the Savelli family itself. It is also worth noting that the history of the Savelli was preserved in fewer manuscripts than the histories of the other families. Perhaps this was simply because the Savelli died out in the early eighteenth century, so there was less interest in them. Yet it is possible that Panvinio intended to restrict the manuscript's circulation. Tellingly, the work was not included in the manuscript in Padua which assembled all three of his other family histories (Frangipane, Mattei, and

Massimo).⁶⁹ Furthermore, in the mid-eighteenth century, the Marchese Pompeo Frangipane seems to have owned manuscripts containing several of Panvinio's family histories but not that of the Savelli. His copies were used by various scholars at the time.⁷⁰

For these reasons, Panvinio's falsifications of evidence were largely hidden from the wider scholarly community until the publication of the treatise in 1891–1892. Occasionally, however, the manuscript was cited. In the nineteenth century, for instance, Panvinio was regarded as such an expert that his manuscript was mentioned in Moroni's influential dictionary of church history. In the article on the Savelli, Moroni referred to Panvinio as the authority for starting the beginning of the family with Aimerico. In his entry on Cardinal Thomas of Capua, Moroni followed Panvinio in making the cardinal a Savelli, going so far as to copy his brief eulogy of the cardinal, translating it from Latin into Italian.⁷¹

In his published works Panvinio included only the results: that both Cencius Camerarius and Thomas were Savelli.⁷² Although his *Roman Popes* was a well-respected publication, it was printed only once and disappeared from the market soon after his death. On the other hand, in his edition of Platina's *Lives* (1562), Panvinio did not intervene in the text, where Honorius III was not made a Savelli, nor did he add an annotation in which he made such a claim. Also, in his unpublished edition of Cencio's *Ordo Romanus* he refrained from making the author a Savelli.⁷³ It seems that where falsification was not necessary, Panvinio preferred to adhere to the facts.

Frangipane

De gente Fregepania (On the Frangipane Family) traced the family's ancestry back to ancient Rome. On 1 May 1556, Panvinio dedicated this work to Mario Frangipane--and it remains unpublished.⁷⁴ Panvinio had a twofold interest in the Frangipane. First, in his brother's biography of Panvinio, it is mentioned that he entered into Alessandro Farnese's patronage with the help of Curzio Frangipane, who was the cardinal's *maestro di casa* (*maggiordomo*).⁷⁵ In 1540 Curzio had been named by Paul III as supervisor (*deputato*) of the construction of the Campidoglio and in this capacity, he has been regarded as the 'true inspirer' of the first phase of its creation.⁷⁶ When he died in late 1554 at the age of 54, Curzio was also chancellor of the city, which was a high ceremonial office: the chancellors kept the arms and the seal of the Roman people.⁷⁷

Second, Mario Frangipane not only succeeded his brother Curzio as chancellor; shortly afterward he was named supervisor of all Roman antiquities (20 December 1556). Mario had previously played a decisive role in governing the commune, serving several times as a conservator. (The conservators acted as intermediaries who sought to balance the interests of the Roman citizens and of the pope). The *commissario delle antichità*, on the other hand, was appointed by the pope, and this office had been established in 1534 by Paul III, whose idea from the beginning had been to appoint a man from an ancient, noble family to perform this task. Mario Frangipane was only the second *commissario* after the long tenure of the poet and diplomat Latino Giovenale Manetti (1534–1553). The *commissario*'s administrative functions included overseeing all classical monuments and excavations and controlling the export of antiquities. It has been shown that Mario Frangipane--who died in 1569--was probably not very active in this role and, moreover,

that from about 1562 he was not the only person in charge of antiquities.⁷⁸ While it should therefore be assumed that he considered his office as being at least partly ceremonial in nature, he surely had some interest in history and archaeology--and, consequently, in Panvinio's work. The connection was no doubt also useful for Panvinio's further antiquarian studies.

In his preface for Mario Frangipane, Panvinio began with the usual praise the capacity of history to preserve glorious deeds. Among the vast amount of material he had gathered for his works, there had been 'many things' related to the Frangipane. One day he mentioned this to Curzio Frangipane, whom Panvinio described as 'very friendly' and 'exceptionally generous' to him, and Curzio expressed the wish that Panvinio would add more documents to those he had already amassed and collect them into one volume. When Panvinio had just begun to write, however, Curzio died unexpectedly. Panvinio wrote that Mario had followed in his footsteps, perhaps referring to the fact that he had taken over Curzio's office as chancellor; but he also succeeded Curzio as Panvinio's patron, since Mario wished him to complete the book.⁷⁹ Panvinio underlined that he had put incredible effort into this work and noted that the beginnings of his fortune had sprung from the generosity of the family, which he had esteemed since his youth.⁸⁰ At the end of the preface, Panvinio claimed that he had covered the family's deeds over two thousand years.

It is not clear what Panvinio was referring to when he said that his prosperity sprang from Frangipane patronage. The fact that Panvinio started working on the book when Curzio Frangipane was still alive--that is, before 1555--suggests that what his brother Paolo maintained in his biography of Panvinio was true: Curzio must have been an

important figure in making the connection to Alessandro Farnese. The Frangipane claimed also that they were related to the Alighieri who, in Panvinio's youth, belonged to the ruling class of Verona. Iacopo III Alighieri (d. 1545) was a member of the city council, while Ludovico Alighieri (d. 1547) was a judge.⁸¹ It is especially tempting to draw a connection between Panvinio and the antiquarian Francesco Alighieri (d. 1562), who spent a large portion of his life, from about 1520, in Rome and returned to Verona in the mid-1540s. Alighieri was a friend of Benedetto Valenti, a high official at the papal court under Paul III. At his palace in Trevi, Valenti had a collection of antiquities, which Francesco described. Francesco also wrote about the ancient monuments of Tivoli and worked on an Italian translation of Vitruvius.⁸² Since, however, Panvinio's connections with the Alighieri of Verona are merely speculative, it is safer to assume that he may have been favoured by the Frangipane in Rome not long after his arrival in 1548.

De gente Fregepania was a lengthy work in four books which took its starting point in antiquity. The first two books dealt with the wealthy patrician clan of the Anicii up to the time of Pope Gregory the Great, who was regarded as a family member (d. 604). Especially for ancient Roman times, Panvinio used not only literary evidence, such as Livy or Plutarch, but also epigraphic evidence. In Book III he attempted to show that the Frangipane descended from the Anicii of the Late Empire.⁸³ Panvinio then dealt with the Michiel of Venice, citing sources from Venetian archives, which show that he must have been to Venice before May 1556. His method of presentation was straightforward: he transcribed extensive texts from documents, books, or monuments, and then connected them with relatively short introductions or conclusions.

Moving on to the Frangipane of Rome, where he discussed Leo Frangipane, the eleventh-century ‘founder of this family in the city’, Panvinio started treading on historically more secure ground.⁸⁴ His use of sources widened: he drew on documents from the Apostolic Chamber, kept in the Vatican Library, and on literary sources such as Otto of Freising’s *Deeds of Frederick Barbarossa*, the chronicles of the ‘Abbot of Ursberg’ and Giovanni Villani, or Platina’s *Lives of the Popes*. He then ventured to claim that there were three main branches of the Frangipane: those of the Colosseum (*de Colosseo*), of the Septizonium (*de Septem Soliis*), and the *de Gradellis*. In Book IV Panvinio described the branches still flourishing in his time in Rome, Florence, Verona and Venice.⁸⁵ As regards Florence, he aimed to prove, through quotations from Boccaccio’s *Life of Dante* and Giovanni Villani, that Dante Alighieri, too, was a member of the family.

In an article of 1991, Matthias Thumser judged Panvinio’s work harshly on several grounds. The connection to the Anicii of ancient Rome, for example, was pure legend. Also, Panvinio failed to establish what recent research had discovered: that the Frangipane derived from the non-aristocratic Roman family *de Imperato*. In short, Panvinio’s division of the Roman Frangipane into three branches does not seem to be fully supported by the sources, nor does the relationship to the Michiel of Venice. Thumser, therefore, dismissed the work as a ‘curious collection of supported and unsupported material’.⁸⁶

To be fair to Panvinio, even if he had established the derivation from the *Imperato*, it is very unlikely that he would have been in a position to present the Frangipane with this disappointing fact. The family had lost most of its power and influence, which had

reached its peak in the twelfth century. In the family's relatively lacklustre present state, its members must have regarded the memories of a glorious past as even more important. As for the flattering assertion that Dante descended from the Frangipane, it was out of the question for Panvinio to cast doubt on this because it had already been affirmed by other authorities--not only Boccaccio and Villani, but also Giannozzo Manetti and Cristoforo Landino.⁸⁷ In the same chapter, Panvinio traced the Frangipane lineage to Verona. After Villani's description of Dante's character, he noted that Dante founded a branch of the family in Verona (the Alighieri). While this is historically correct, the connection to the Frangipane rested, of course, on the previous assumption that Dante was a descendant of the family.⁸⁸

It has also been noted that Panvinio used valuable medieval sources for the history of the Frangipane. For example, he included transcriptions of documents concerning the monastery of St Gregory on the Caelian Hill from the *Regestum Gregorianum*. This *Regestum* was a manuscript volume compiled in the early sixteenth century from copies of documents in the monastery and is now lost.⁸⁹ Furthermore, Panvinio drew upon the archives of both the Lateran and, as has been mentioned, the Vatican. Lastly, he used the archives of the church of Santa Maria Nova (Santa Francesca Romana), which is today recognized as the central source for the history of the Frangipane.⁹⁰

On the other hand, it does not reflect well on Panvinio as a careful scholar that he introduced some sources with such imprecise remarks as 'I also found the following in another old and handwritten book'⁹¹--although, again, this may simply be honesty, as Panvinio could not possibly identify all the material he encountered in the disorganized archives of his time. In addition, this kind of inexact reference was conventional in the

sixteenth century. *De gente Fregepania*, even if unpublished, was used by later historians of the family such as Francesco Zazzera (1617).⁹²

Massimo

The discussion of Panvinio's family histories, as a thematic unit, can be continued with the history of the Massimo. As in his other family histories, Panvinio sought to give a scholarly underpinning to traditions that already existed. The work carried a dedication, dated 1 May 1556, to Antonio Massimo⁹³ (d. 1561), the son of Pietro Massimo (d. 1544), who had commissioned a painting cycle on the history of the family.⁹⁴ Antonio became a widower in 1534, and it was perhaps for this reason, as Pompeo Litta speculated, that he had sufficient time to devote himself to family history. He had composed a little book containing *Memorie di famiglia*.⁹⁵ In 1540–1542 Antonio, together with Curzio Frangipane, oversaw the construction of the Campidoglio. From 1545 onwards, he was one of the three deputies of the *Fabbrica* of St Peter's, in which office he remained until his death in 1561--and for some periods served as the only supervisor of this most important building project.⁹⁶

Again, the preface initially dealt with the utility of history before moving onto details about the dedicatee, Antonio. Panvinio had mentioned to him that he had begun to write a history of the Frangipane, which caused Antonio to commission a story of his own family. Antonio Massimo had already been 'generous' to Panvinio, but no other details about their relationship were provided.⁹⁷

In this work Panvinio attempted to show that the Massimo descended from the Roman *gens* Fabia. The evidence which he found was not, however, evenly distributed in terms of chronology. The bulk of his treatise dealt with the family in Roman times up to the early sixth century--and seems a slightly revised spin-off from his *Fasti*.⁹⁸ There followed a long gap up to 1012 CE, for which year Panvinio cited the inscription on the tomb of Leo Maximus in the church of Sant' Alessio on the Aventine Hill. He lamented the obscure medieval Latin containing numerous errors introduced either by the craftsman who made the incision or by the author himself. Despite the errors, Panvinio claimed to have reported the inscription as he found it ('ita descripsimus sicuti in saxo incisa est').⁹⁹ In the various existing manuscript copies, the inscription was sometimes reported nearly exactly as it was, with most of the errors; but sometimes slight emendations were introduced into the transcription. To give an example: two manuscripts of *De gente Maxima* spelled the name of the deceased as 'Leo de Maximus'--exactly as it appeared in the inscription, whereas in others, this was corrected to 'Leo de Maximis'.¹⁰⁰ It is possible that Panvinio, in a second redaction of his text, emended his own text to establish a grammatically correct version of the name. 'De Maximis', moreover, was the version of the name used during the Middle Ages. Of course, it is also possible that Panvinio preferred to maintain the grammatical error ('de Maximus') and that someone else made the correction contrary to Panvinio's intent. Certainly, the Massimo family of the sixteenth century preferred the version 'Maximus', as it resembled the ancient Roman version of the name.¹⁰¹

After citing the inscription, Panvinio added a paragraph to explain its meaning. He proceeded in two steps. First, he rephrased the first few lines to make the inscription

comprehensible, interpreting it, as it were, by translating it into better Latin. He then explained that it mentioned a certain Sergestus, from whom the Massimo family had descended. In a second step, Panvinio interpreted the inscription by trying to determine who this Sergestus might have been. The only Sergestus he could come up with was the companion of Aeneas in Virgil's poem. After citing the passages in the *Aeneid* where Sergestus appeared, Panvinio admitted that he did not know what this Sergestus might have had to do with the Massimo family ('sed quid huic cum Maximis negotii unquam fuerit, ingenue me nescire fateor'). The modern editor of the inscription, Attilio Deggrassi, reached the same view as Panvinio.¹⁰²

Panvinio then transcribed two documents from the *Regestum Gregorianum* of the monastery of St Gregory on the Caelian Hill.¹⁰³ Next came a quotation from what Panvinio called *Caeremoniale*, which he dated to the time of Pope Alexander III (r. 1159–1181) or earlier, and which mentioned the Massimo and their family palace. The text was actually the *Ordo Romanus*, included in the *Liber censuum* of Cencius Camerarius (c.1192).¹⁰⁴ It provided instructions for the Roman feast days and the ceremonies and processions associated with them. Here, it was specified that the Massimo family received a certain sum of money for the erection of one of the numerous ephemeral 'arches' along the path of a papal procession. Panvinio did not bother to explain that the structures or decoration resembling arches alluded to the triumphal arches erected in ancient Roman times to honour victorious emperors.¹⁰⁵ After these very brief notes on the family's history in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, the story was again interrupted until 1300. Panvinio confessed that he did not find any evidence regarding the thirteenth century, even though he had searched carefully ('quamvis curiose

investigaverim’).¹⁰⁶ The rest of the story continued to the time of Pope Eugenius IV (r. 1431–1447) and was followed by a family tree, not published by Mai.

Modern scholars have confirmed that it is not possible to reconstruct an exact genealogy of the Massimo before the fourteenth century.¹⁰⁷ Of course, the tradition of connecting the Massimo to the Fabii cannot be substantiated either; yet, according to a specialist in medieval onomastics (who also happens to be a member of the Massimo family), the claim continues to enjoy a certain credibility. He has pointed out that the inscription for Leo Maximus referred to the family name as a ‘nomen antiquus’; so already at that time, he concluded, there was an awareness of the antiquarian value of this name.¹⁰⁸

As in the case of the history of the Savelli, Panvinio was taken seriously in the scholarship of subsequent centuries. He was expressly cited in 1839 by the genealogist Pompeo Litta, who described him as an authority of ‘great weight’, though at this point his history of the family was still unpublished.¹⁰⁹ The attitude of the Massimo themselves emerged from a cycle of frescoes and from a curious anecdote. A few years before Panvinio wrote his history (c.1537–1543), Daniele da Volterra was commissioned by Pietro Massimo to paint a frieze in Palazzo Massimo showing the Roman ancestors of the family. It contained, above all, events in the life of Quintus Fabius Maximus ‘Cunctator’, the opponent of Hannibal (d. 203 BCE), who was represented as the founding father of the dynasty. Panvinio’s text contained numerous correspondences to the events displayed in the fresco cycle: for example, the mythical connection to Hercules; the selection of prominent figures of the *gens* Fabia; and the use of sources such as Livy, Plutarch, Valerius Maximus, Virgil, and Ovid.¹¹⁰ As regards the anecdote, it was Napoleon himself

who challenged the family's tradition when he received a delegation from Pope Pius VI at Tolentino in 1797. On this occasion, Napoleon reprimanded the Marchese Camillo Francesco Massimo with the words: 'They say, Sir, that you descend from Fabius Maximus. That is not true.' Massimo reportedly answered with pride and irony: 'Indeed, I would not know how to prove it: this rumour has been in our family for only twelve centuries.'¹¹¹

Mattei

In dealing with the Mattei family, Panvinio faced the arduous task of proving that they derived from the medieval Guidoni-Papareschi and could trace their lineage back to Pope Innocent II (r. 1130–1143). Yet, while he may have interpreted the evidence in a manner that suited his purpose, in this case he was not guilty of forgery. Panvinio's history of the Mattei family remains unpublished. Although scholars have assumed that it survived in only a single manuscript, there are, in fact, four which are accessible.¹¹² The work carried two dedications, to Giacomo and to Muzio Mattei. In the first dedication, to Giacomo, dated 1 December 1561, Panvinio recalled mentioning his previous histories of Roman families in a conversation with Giacomo's nephew Muzio. Muzio, as Panvinio remarked, was a young man keen on acquiring glory and having a history of his own Mattei family. However, Panvinio decided to dedicate the work to Giacomo as well, because he was the 'first man' of the family.¹¹³ The second dedication, to Muzio himself, was not dated and was merely a patchwork of rhetorical phrases.¹¹⁴

Panvinio had to explain why the Mattei had had several different surnames in the Middle Ages. He summed up his argument in the first sentence, saying that the family first adopted its name from Giovanni and Cencio Guidoni. Next they took the name ‘de Papa’ or Papareschi, then ‘de Romano’, and, lastly, Mattei.¹¹⁵ The Mattei were obviously proud to have a pope in their lineage, so Panvinio was expected to prove that Pope Innocent II was a member of the family. Panvinio located the family’s origins as late as c.1040 CE, when, according to him, a certain Guido lived in Rome.¹¹⁶ Guido, in Panvinio’s account, had a son named Ioannes Guidonis (Giovanni, the son of Guido). Giovanni was the true founder of the family, fathering numerous sons, among them Gregorio, later Pope Innocent II.

Not surprisingly, a large part of Panvinio’s text focused on Innocent II. After recounting the pope’s life, he added biographical accounts by ten other authors (Martin of Troppau, Dietrich of Niem, Ptolemy of Lucca, Platina, Johannes Aventinus, and others).¹¹⁷ Although Innocent had been considered a Guidoni or a Papareschi since the fourteenth century, once again Panvinio may have been the main culprit who gave this assumption an air of historical authenticity. Contemporary sources certainly did not give a family name to the Gregorio who became pope. For example, the *Liber pontificalis* (*Book of Pontiffs*) stated only that Gregorio was a Roman from Trastevere, the son of a certain Giovanni.¹¹⁸

Until recently, not only Panvinio, but also modern scholars specializing in the College of Cardinals in the twelfth century, based the claim that the Papareschi derived from Innocent II on an inscription in the church of San Giacomo alla Lungara in Rome--an inscription that was destroyed in the seventeenth century.¹¹⁹ Panvinio’s *De gente*

Matthaeia, however, contained a full transcription; the inscription commemorated the donation of an ambo or pulpit to the church by Cinzio (Cinthius), a ‘cleric’ of Sant’Adriano. His family had originated ‘from the sons of Giovanni Guidoni-Papareschi’. Cinzio was the son of Pietro ‘Papa’ or Papareschi and a ‘nephew’ of Pope Innocent II. The inscription does not contain any references which allow it to be dated (Figures 1–2).¹²⁰

Alfonso Chacón’s *Lives of the Popes and Cardinals* (1601) provided an incomplete and corrupt version of this inscription (Figure 3). Chacón also added a line at the end which indicated that Cinzio had died under Pope Lucius III (r. 1181–1185) (‘Obiit sub Lucio III’). Chacón often used similar phrases to conclude his biographical entries on cardinals; but this phrase was placed in a misleading position, so that it seemed as if it belonged to the inscription.¹²¹ This led to the conclusion that the inscription commemorated the twelfth-century Cardinal Cinzio and that he was a Papareschi. Its presumed temporal proximity made it seem to be a valid source for the notion that Pope Innocent was a Papareschi. The line ‘Obiit sub Lucio III’ also appeared in Panvinio’s manuscript, in a passage discussing the cardinal.¹²² Of course, we cannot be sure whether Chacón read Panvinio’s text or whether he found it in a source on the cardinal which Panvinio, too, used.

Like all subsequent historians, Panvinio concluded that the inscription concerned the twelfth-century Cardinal Cinzio. This Cinzio was, as we know from other sources, cardinal-deacon of Sant’Adriano from 1158 and cardinal-priest of Santa Cecilia from 1178; he died c.1182.¹²³ Panvinio naturally identified him as the donor of the pulpit. That Cinzio was referred to only as ‘clericus’ (with no mention of the title of cardinal) does

not seem to have presented a problem for Panvinio: he might have assumed either that Cinzio made a donation while still only a cleric at Sant'Adriano (that is, before becoming a cardinal with the same titular church) or that 'clericus' was simply an imprecise reference to the cardinal's office. Panvinio was happy to underline that it proved, first, that the Papareschi derived from Innocent II and, second, that the Papareschi took their origins from the Guidoni.

It has been shown, however, that another inscription concerning Cinzio may have been connected to the first one. This was a funerary inscription in the same church, stating that a certain Cinzio Papareschi--who was just a cleric, not a cardinal--was buried there in 1305. Fioravante Martinelli, the only author to have preserved this second inscription (*Roma ... sacra*, 1653), conflated the first and the second, making them appear to be a single, long inscription (Figure 4).¹²⁴ In 1947 Giuseppe Marchetti Longhi put forward the view that the first inscription did not actually refer to the cardinal, but rather to the cleric who died much later, in 1305. 'Nephew' should therefore be understood not as the son of a brother of Innocent, but in broader terms as a descendant. Tillmann drew the conclusion in 1972 that, if this assumption is true, the presumed *contemporary* proof that Pope Innocent was a Guidoni or Papareschi evaporates.¹²⁵ Lastly, no other source seems to prove that Cinzio was a cleric of Sant'Adriano before he became a cardinal-deacon. As a side-effect, there is no longer any proof that Cardinal Cinzio was a Papareschi, either. Recent scholars have, in fact, taken Tillmann's objection seriously and agreed that Innocent II probably did not have any family name when he was elected pope. His descendants later took the name Papareschi in memory of Innocent's title of bishop of Rome.¹²⁶ This would mean that the Papareschi, first, did not go back beyond Innocent II;

second, that they could not be traced back to the Guidoni; and third, that they were of uncertain--and therefore possibly not noble--origins.

It has been overlooked that when Vincenzo Forcella reprinted the second inscription in 1875, he separated it from the first. Forcella included a drawing of remaining fragments and their hypothetical arrangement, running around the four sides of a funerary slab (Figure 5). Thus, he did not think that Martinelli was justified in conflating a funerary inscription with an inscription on a pulpit. Tillmann does not seem to have taken note of this separation, but her argument might nevertheless be correct: the pulpit may, after all, have been donated by a cleric named Cinzio, rather than by Cinzio the twelfth-century cardinal.

Tillmann blamed Panvinio for misinterpreting the inscription, suggesting, tacitly, that he had twisted the evidence and caused confusion in the scholarly world, which has persisted to the present day. Yet, did Panvinio deliberately manipulate the evidence to claim that Innocent II was a Guidoni-Papareschi? He did, in fact, mention that Cinzio the cleric was buried in San Giacomo. This means that he saw or knew of the second inscription, but he did not cite its wording. Panvinio wrote that Cinzio's tomb, which 'still exists', was in the church decorated with coats of arms in mosaic.¹²⁷ Panvinio may have avoided citing the wording of the second inscription because this would have given rise to doubts about the donor of the first inscription; the Cinzio who died in 1305 might have been taken for the donor of the first inscription. Or Panvinio may have left it out simply because an inscription from 1305 had much less value than one from the twelfth century in terms of the point he was trying to make.

Martinelli created the impression that he had found both inscriptions conflated in Panvinio, which, as we have seen, is untrue; he could have taken only the first part from Panvinio.¹²⁸ Because the church was restored in the seventeenth century, the first inscription may have already been destroyed when Martinelli visited. So, he took the first from Panvinio and added the second, which he found in the church. In general, Martinelli was a diligent writer who adopted a sharper critical approach than most of his contemporaries. His *Roma sacra* has been referred to as the best work on the Roman churches up to the twentieth century.¹²⁹ Another scholar, Gregorio Giacomo Terribilini (1709–1755), however, relied solely only on Panvinio in this matter. When he copied the inscription from Panvinio’s manuscript, he did not include the second inscription.¹³⁰

As for Panvinio’s view that the first inscription on the pulpit was donated by Cinzio the cardinal: modern scholars are still undecided as to whether this is an historical fact. Perhaps it can be said that Panvinio gently nudged the evidence in the direction that suited his purposes. He made the interpretation that the donor was the cardinal--which, apart from being useful to him, was also the most obvious conclusion. In this case, it cannot really be maintained that Panvinio created a falsification.

A similar question arises about another passage of *De gente Matthaeia*, in an extract of Panvinio’s text made by the notorious forger Alfonso Ceccarelli. Here Panvinio, at first sight, seems to have made up a crucial piece of evidence. He cited a document from 1139 which named several Roman nobles, among them ‘Centius Ioannis Guidonis domni pape nepos’, together with the abbot of St Gregory on the Caelian Hill. The specification that Cencio was a ‘nephew of the Lord pope’ was an interpolation, fabricated to provide more evidence for the claim that Innocent II was a Guidoni.¹³¹ The interpolation appeared only

in the extract made by Ceccarelli, for the production of which he was possibly given a manuscript by Muzio Mattei.¹³² On the other hand, there is no interpolation in the four complete manuscripts of Panvinio's work which are currently accessible;¹³³ nor does the remark appear in the same document as quoted by Panvinio in his history of the Frangipane family.¹³⁴ Likewise, it is absent from all later editions of the document. Although this interpolation seems very similar to the one we encountered in Panvinio's history of the Savelli, in this case he must be exculpated of any suspicion that he modified the document. It is likely that Ceccarelli meddled with it on his own initiative, doing exactly what Panvinio had done in the history of the Savelli. Ceccarelli himself composed a history of the Savelli and may, in this context, have noticed Panvinio's line of argument.¹³⁵ We cannot know for certain whether Ceccarelli detected that Panvinio had altered documents: he may simply have found Panvinio's reasoning to be persuasive and been inspired to add a non-existent 'nephew' himself.

Panvinio concluded his text by citing Mattei family wills from around 1400 CE.¹³⁶ He could be certain that he had convincingly demonstrated that Innocent II was a family member and that the Mattei derived from the Guidoni-Papareschi.

Conclusion

Panvinio's friend Antonio Agustín, a renowned legal historian, joked about research into family origins:

My hometown is Zaragoza, the capital of the Kingdom of Aragon. It was a Roman colony, founded by Caesar Augustus, and from him it took the name Caesaraugusta ...

If I were pope, which the Lord does not want, they would say that Augustus left children in that place as my ancestors. But now that I am poor, they will say that I descend from an Augustinian friar.¹³⁷

Agustín expressed how haphazard genealogies could be: if a man became pope and had no respectable line of ancestry, one would simply be invented. The joke about the Augustinian friar is, of course, a reference to Agustín's last name--that he and Panvinio, the Augustinian, had the same patron saint was a sort of running gag between the two friends.

We may have caught a glimpse of Panvinio's own attitude from the letter of Carlo Sigonio cited above, where Sigonio wrote that he had heard that Panvinio laughed about the Cibo family's claims. To judge from his writings, Panvinio had a pragmatic attitude to genealogy. He tactfully passed over mythical origins where he could, leaving aside, for example, the early genealogy of the Savelli and Mattei. Nevertheless, he anticipated the expectations of families--or yielded to the pressure they exerted. He therefore traced the Massimo back to Quintus Fabius Maximus, the Frangipane to the *gens* Anicia and, eventually, the Cibo to the noble Greek ancestors, as were their wishes. This may explain why Panvinio did not have any of his family histories printed.

In the dedication of his history of the Mattei family to Giacomo Mattei, we learn that Panvinio had composed, 'among others, the histories of the Colonna, Orsini, Savelli, Frangipane, Massimo, and Cenci families'.¹³⁸ The works on the Colonna, Orsini, and

Cenci were mentioned again in a catalogue of Panvinio's personal library which he drew up in c.1564–1565.¹³⁹ No trace of these works has been found; perhaps, to advertise his skill, Panvinio inflated the number of histories he wrote. As regards the Orsini, there is negative evidence. When Francesco Sansovino was commissioned to write a history of this family in 1564, he wrote to Panvinio for information, saying that the family had provided him with relevant historical works but that he had also searched for material on his own initiative. While doing so he had come across Panvinio's *Epitome pontificum Romanorum* and his edition of Platina, which Sansovino had liked so much that he had 'fallen in love' with Panvinio. This letter shows that Panvinio had never written a history of the Orsini, as the family would surely have known if he had done so and would have informed Sansovino of this fact.¹⁴⁰ For the history of the Cenci, at least, some concrete information exists: Panvinio specified that it was a work in two books and that it was dedicated to Cristoforo Cenci, the extremely wealthy clerk and treasurer of the Camera Apostolica who died in 1562. It seems, therefore, that this work may simply have been lost.¹⁴¹

Even without any works on the Colonna and Cenci, the sheer size of Panvinio's manuscript material on the Roman families is remarkable. It is certainly the most abundant of all unpublished genealogical collections on Roman families compiled in the sixteenth century.¹⁴² In the notes to this article, I have cited many more manuscript copies of his genealogical works than were previously assumed to exist. There was a lively interest in his genealogical manuscripts in the eighteenth century. The Marchese Pompeo Frangipane appears to have owned a complete set of copies, which he made available to scholars before his collection was dispersed.¹⁴³ To this day, the private Biblioteca

Massimo in Rome contains another complete set (histories of the Frangipane, Savelli, Massimo, and Mattei); it was assembled by the learned Prince Camillo Vittorio Massimo (1803–1873), who copied the work on the Savelli in his own hand and who had the other three histories copied by a scribe. While most of Camillo Vittorio's large library was sold after his death, the family retained its set of Panvinio's histories of Roman families.¹⁴⁴ A critical edition of these works would provide further insight into the working methods of a scholar who lent the weight of his authority to the claims to ancestry of prominent Roman families. As I have tried to show in this article, an element of fiction--and even forgery--remained a necessary ingredient in genealogy. In the hands of an erudite scholar such as Panvinio, this element was receding in the sixteenth century, but had not yet disappeared.

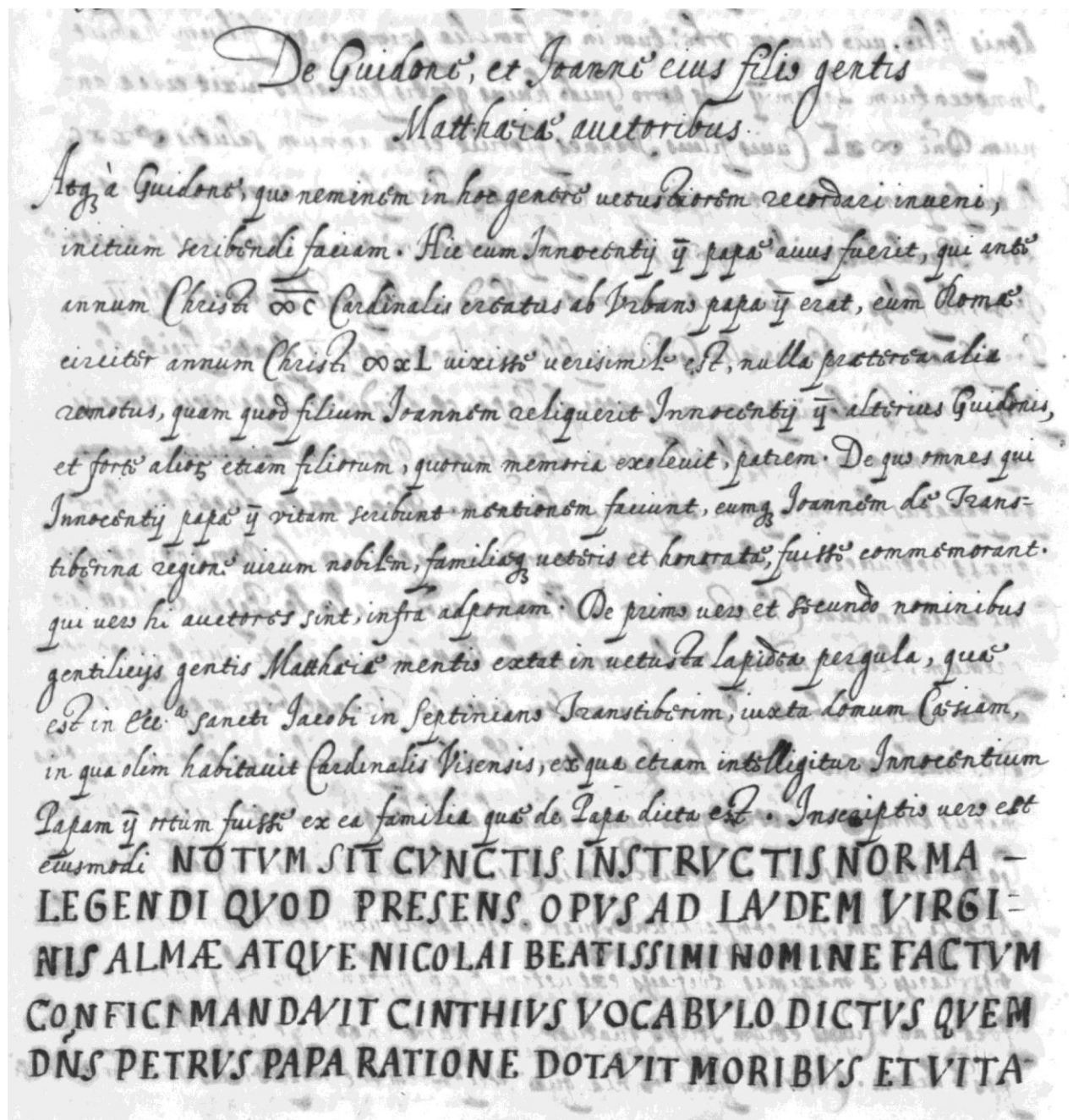


FIGURE 1 Inscription from San Giacomo alla Lungara, Rome. From: Onofrio Panvinio,
De gente nobili Matthaeia liber, London, British Library, Add. MS 8407, fol. 5^v. ©
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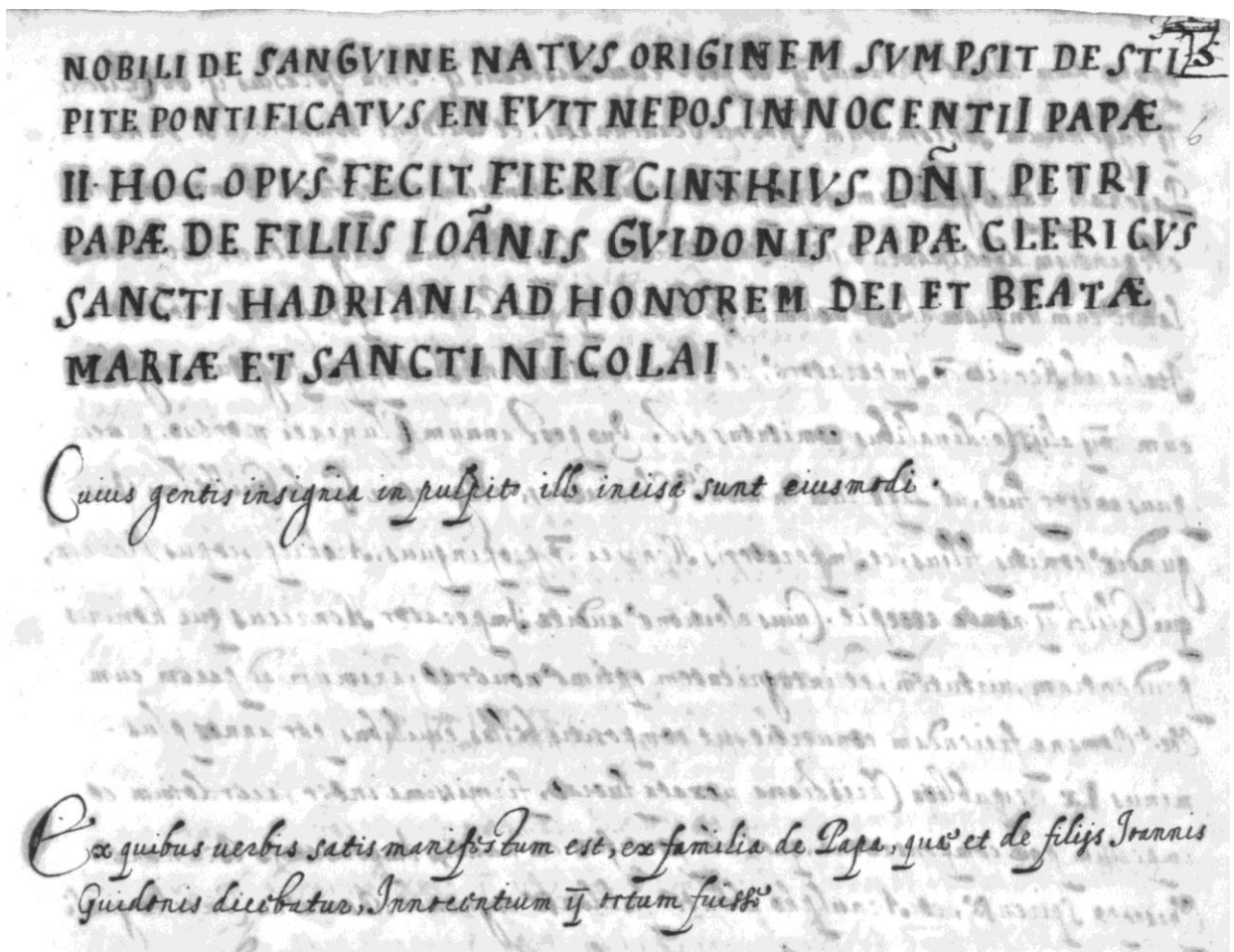


FIGURE 2 Inscription from San Giacomo alla Lungara, Rome. From: Onofrio Panvinio,

De gente nobili Matthaeia liber, London, British Library, Add. MS 8407, fol. 6^r. ©

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VIII. CYNTHIVS Guidonis de Papa, Romanus, de Regione Transtiberim Innocentij ij. Papæ propinquus, diaconus Cardinalis s. Hadriani, postea presbyter Cardinalis tt. s. Cæcilie, cum maiore Cardinalium parte, Alexandri iij. electioni consensit, quod suis litteris, quæ sunt apud Radeuicum lib. 4. c. 57. exponit. Huius extat memoria in tabula marmorea in Ecclesia s. Iacobi in Septimiano Transtiberim, ex qua intelligitur eum Innocentij ij. propinquum fuisse, ita

Moribus, & vita nobili de sanguine natus
 Originem sumpsit de stirpe Pontificatus,
 En fuit nepos Innocentij Papæ secundi
 Notum sit cunctis instructis norma legendi,
 Quod præsens opus ad laudem Virginis almæ.
 Hoc opus fieri fecit Cynthius Domini Petri Papæ,
 De filijs Ioannis Guidonis Papæ clericus F. Romani,
 Ad honorem Dei, B. Mariæ, & S. Nicolai.
 Obijt sub Lucio iij.

FIGURE 3 Inscription from San Giacomo alla Lungara, Rome. From: Alfonso Chacón, *Vitæ et gesta summorum pontificum a Christo domino usque ad Clementem VIII necnon Sanctæ Romanæ Ecclesiæ cardinalium*, 2 vols (Rome, 1601), 1: 461.

Aliud ex Panuinio M.S. degente Matthæia desumptum subnectere volui, quia mutilum, & mendosum legitur in noua Ciaconij de vitis Pontificum, & Cardinalium editione pag. 566.

*Notum sit cunctis instructis norma legendi
Quod præsens opus ad laudem Virginis almæ
Atque Nicolai beatissimi nomine factum
Confici mandauit Cynthius vocabulo dictus;
Quem Dominus Petrus Papa ratione dotauit
Moribus & vita nobili de sanguine natus,
Originem sumpsit de stirpe Pontificatus,
En fuit nepos Innocentij Papæ secundi.*

HOC OPVS FIERI FECIT CYNTHIVS DOMINI
PETRI PAPAE DE FILIIS IOANNIS GVIDONIS
PAPAE CLERICVS S. HADRIANI AD HONOREM
DEI B. MARIAE ET S. NICOLAI.

*Tumulatus hic iacet clericali diademate dotatus
Cynthius nominatus nobili prosapia natus,
Et sublimatus in antiana Domo locatus.*

M. C C C. V.

FIGURE 4 Inscriptions from San Giacomo alla Lungara, Rome. From: Fioravante Martinelli, *Roma ex ethnica sacra Sanctorum Petri et Pauli apostolica praedicatione profuso sanguine publicae venerationi exposita* (Rome, 1653), 117.

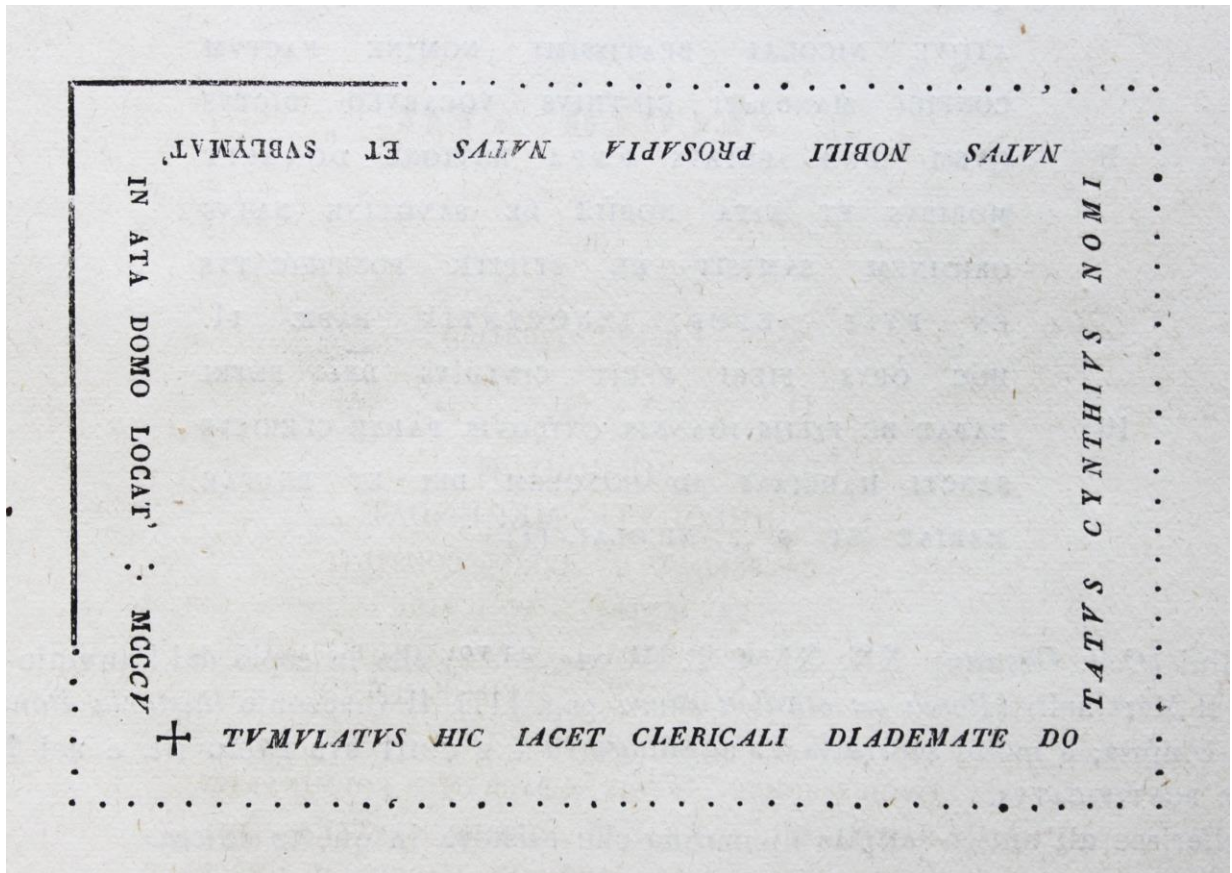


FIGURE 5 Inscription from San Giacomo alla Lungara, Rome (reconstruction based on two remaining fragments and the text from Martinelli). From: Vincenzo Forcella, *Iscrizioni delle chiese e d'altri edificii di Roma*, 14 vols (Rome, 1869–1884), 6: 324, no. 1062.

¹ My warm thanks to Jill Kraye, Will Stenhouse, and the anonymous readers of this journal for their comments on earlier drafts of this article.

² On Panvinio see Stefan Bauer, ‘Panvinio, Onofrio’, in *Dizionario biografico degli italiani* (Rome, 1960–), 81: 36–39; idem, *History and the Catholic Reformation: The Achievement of Onofrio Panvinio (1530–1568)* (Oxford, forthcoming).

³ Onofrio Panvinio, *Fastorum libri V a Romulo rege usque ad imperatorem Caesarem Carolum V* (Venice, 1558), published together with *De antiquis Romanorum nominibus* (separate page numbering, 37–82); idem, *Reipublicae Romanae commentariorum libri III* (Venice, 1558); idem, *Romanorum principum et eorum quorum maxima in Italia imperia fuerunt libri IV*; *De comitiis imperatoriis liber* (Basel, 1558). See Jean-Louis Ferrary, *Onofrio Panvinio et les antiquités romaines* (Rome, 1996). On antiquarianism in Rome see also Ingo Herklotz, *La Roma degli antiquari: cultura e erudizione tra Cinquecento e Settecento* (Rome, 2012); William Stenhouse, ‘Imagination and the Remains of Roman Antiquity’, in *The Routledge History of the Renaissance*, ed. William Caferro (London, 2017), 125–139.

⁴ O. Panvinio, *Epitome pontificum Romanorum a Sancto Petro usque ad Paulum IV* (Venice, 1557); idem, *Romani pontifices et cardinales Sanctae Romanae Ecclesiae ab eisdem a Leone IX ad Paulum Papam IV ... creati* (Venice, 1557); Platina, *Historia de vitis pontificum*, ed. Panvinio (Venice, 1562), revised edn (Cologne, 1568). On the editions of Platina, see Stefan Bauer, *The Censorship and Fortuna of Platina’s Lives of the Popes in the Sixteenth Century* (Turnhout, 2006).

⁵ Stefan Bauer, ‘Historiographical Transition from Renaissance to Counter-Reformation: The Case of Onofrio Panvinio (1530–1568)’, in *The Historiography of Transition: Critical Phases in the Development of Modernity (1494–1973)*, ed. Paolo Pombeni (Abingdon and New York, 2016), 75–90, at 82–85.

⁶ On the use by antiquarians of non-literary evidence (material objects) to supplement literary sources, see William Stenhouse, *Reading Inscriptions and Writing Ancient History: Historical Scholarship in the Late Renaissance* (London, 2005); Ingo Herklotz, ‘Arnaldo Momigliano’s “Ancient History and the Antiquarian”: A Critical Review’, in *Momigliano and Antiquarianism: Foundations of the Modern Cultural Sciences*, ed. Peter N. Miller (Toronto, 2007), 127–153.

⁷ Cesare Baronio, *Annales ecclesiastici*, 12 vols (Rome, 1588–1607). On Baronio’s confessionalized view of history see Giuseppe Antonio Guazzelli, ‘Cesare Baronio and the Roman Catholic Vision of the Early Church’, in *Sacred History: Uses of the Christian Past in the Renaissance World*, ed. Katherine Van Liere, Simon Ditchfield and Howard Louthan (Oxford, 2012), 52–71; Stefania Tutino, “‘For the Sake of the Truth of History and of the Catholic Doctrines’: History, Documents and Dogma in Cesare Baronio’s *Annales Ecclesiastici*”, *Journal of Early Modern History* 17 (2013), 125–159. For a discussion of the term ‘confessionalization’ see Ute Lotz-Heumann, ‘Confessionalization’, in *The Ashgate Research Companion to the Counter-Reformation*, ed. Alexandra Bamji, Geert H. Janssen and Mary Laven (Farnham, 2013), 33–53.

⁸ Claudio Donati, *L’idea di nobiltà in Italia, secoli XIV–XVIII* (Rome and Bari, 1988); *Knowledge, Goodness and Power: The Debate over Nobility among Quattrocento Italian Humanists*, ed. Albert Rabil, Jr. (Binghamton, NY, 1991).

⁹ Anthony Grafton, ‘Invention of Traditions and Traditions of Invention in Renaissance Europe: The Strange Case of Annius of Viterbo’, in *The Transmission of Culture in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Anthony Grafton and Ann Blair (Philadelphia, PA, 1990), 8–38, at 12; idem, *What Was History? The Art of History in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge,

2007), 147–163. For the case of Britain, where antiquaries and heralds studied genealogy in competition to each other, see Daniel Woolf, *The Social Circulation of the Past: English Historical Culture, 1500–1730* (Oxford, 2003).

¹⁰ Roberto Bizzocchi, ‘Unglaubliche Genealogien: eine Neubestimmung’, *Quellen und Forschungen aus italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken* 96 (2016), 245–263.

¹¹ Ibid., 251–254. On the early modern practices of genealogy, see also Roberto Bizzocchi, ‘*Familiae Romanae* antiche e moderne’, *Rivista storica italiana* 103 (1991), 355–397; idem, ‘La culture généalogique dans l’Italie du seizième siècle’, *Annales: économies, sociétés, civilisations* 46 (1991), 789–805; idem, ‘La storiografia genealogica nell’età della Controriforma’ in ‘*Nunc alia tempora, alii mores*’: *storici e storia in età posttridentina*, ed. Massimo Firpo (Florence, 2005), 415–428; idem, *Genealogie incredibili: scritti di storia nell’Europa moderna*, 2nd edn (Bologna, 2009); Germain Butaud and Valérie Piétri, *Les enjeux de la généalogie (XII^e–XVIII^e siècle): pouvoir et identité* (Paris, 2006); Volker Bauer, *Wurzel, Stamm, Krone: fürstliche Genealogie in frühneuzeitlichen Druckwerken* (Wiesbaden, 2013); *L’opération généalogique: cultures et pratiques européennes, XV^e–XVIII^e siècle*, ed. Olivier Rouchon (Rennes, 2014); Klaus Graf and Gerrit Walther, ‘Genealogy’, in *Encyclopedia of Early Modern History*, ed. Friedrich Jaeger and Graeme Dunphy (Leiden, 2016–), 5: 826–831.

¹² For what follows see Daniel Büchel, ‘Konstruktion von Memoria: Reflexionen über erfundene Genealogien und Vornamensgesetzmäßigkeiten bei Papstfamilien der Frühneuzeit’, in *Tod und Verklärung: Grabmalkultur in der Frühen Neuzeit*, ed. Arne Karsten and Philipp Zitzlsperger (Cologne etc., 2004), 31–48. On fiction and its limits in historiography see Peter Burke, ‘History, Myth and Fiction: Doubts and Debates’, in *The*

Oxford History of Historical Writing, ed. Daniel Woolf, 5 vols (Oxford, 2011–2012), 3: 261–281.

¹³ See below, 10, 34–35.

¹⁴ Eric Cochrane, *Historians and Historiography in the Italian Renaissance* (Chicago, IL, 1981), 416–417. Cochrane spoke of a ‘great ... gulf between genealogy and history’ and, consequently, devoted only a single page of his influential book to genealogy.

¹⁵ Anthony Grafton, *Forgers and Critics: Creativity and Duplicity in Western Scholarship* (Princeton, NJ, 1990), 49. For a Spanish case study of an ‘ingenious mix of tradition and invention, of fact and fiction’, see now Katrina B. Olds, *Forging the Past: Invented Histories in Counter-Reformation Spain* (New Haven, CT, 2015), 8 (quotation). On literary forgery, see now *Literary Forgery in Early Modern Europe, 1450–1800*, ed. Walter Stephens and Earle A. Havens (Baltimore, MD, 2018).

¹⁶ On the difference between the rules of medieval historiography (i.e., its aspiration to authenticity) and its practices (i.e., the inclusion of fictional elements), see Gerd Althoff, ‘Genealogische und andere Fiktionen in mittelalterlicher Historiographie’, in *Fälschungen im Mittelalter*, 6 vols (Hannover, 1988–1990), 1: 417–441. On medieval ‘otherness’ see Hans Robert Jauf, *Alterität und Modernität der mittelalterlichen Literatur* (Munich, 1977).

¹⁷ Karl A. Gersbach, ‘Onofrio Panvinio and Cybo Family Pride in his Treatment of Innocent VIII and in the *XXVII pontificum maximorum elogia et imagines*’, *Analecta Augustiniana* 54 (1991), 115–141.

¹⁸ Panvinio, *Epitome pontificum Romanorum*, 343: ‘ex mediocri genere, honorato tamen ortus, patre Aaron’; idem, *Romani pontifices et cardinales*, 327: ‘ex mediocri genere, honorato tamen ortus, patrem, Aaron nomine, medicum habuit’.

¹⁹ Giacomo Filippo Foresti, *Supplementum chronicarum* (Brescia, 1485), fol. 355^v: ‘patria genuensis, patre Aron, Ciborum familia mediocri, sed honorata natus’; Platina, *De vitis ac gestis summorum pontificum* (Cologne, 1540), 308: ‘ex mediocri genere, honorato tamen, patre Aaron viro sane probo ortus’. In the 1560s Panvinio owned a printed copy of Foresti’s *Supplementum* in folio format; see ‘Index librorum scriptorum bibliothecae Fratris Onophrii Veronensis’ (autograph, c.1564–1567; hereafter ‘ILS’), MS Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana (hereafter ‘BAV’), Vat. lat. 3451, part 2, fols 1^r–29^r, at fols 23^r, 27^r.

²⁰ Bartolomeo Facio, *De rebus gestis ab Alphonso I Neapolitanorum rege*, ed. Gian Michele Bruto, dedicated to Alberico Cibo (Lyons, 1560), 171: ‘duce Arunte Cibonio viro forti’; Bruto’s dedication to Cibo, *ibid.*, 3–15, at 8.

²¹ Giorgio Viani, *Memorie della famiglia Cybo e delle monete di Massa di Lunigiana* (Pisa, 1808), 11–14; Franca Petrucci, ‘Cibo, Aronne’, in *Dizionario biografico degli italiani*, 25: 232.

²² Francesco Maria Cibo (Genoa) to Panvinio (Parma), 23 April 1558, partial ed. Gersbach, ‘Cybo Family Pride’, 129–130 (Gersbach omitted the ‘proofs’ from his transcription; see MS BAV, Vat. lat. 12124, fols 6^r–8^r); letter of 2 June 1558, *ibid.*, 131.

²³ For this and what follows see the letter by F.M. Cibo to A. Cibo (Massa), 22 November 1558, *ibid.*, 134–135.

²⁴ Panvinio, *Epitome pontificum Romanorum*, 415: ‘familia nobili et honorata’; idem, *Romani pontifices et cardinales*, 388–389.

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- ²⁵ Roberto Zapperi, *La leggenda del papa Paolo III: arte e censura nella Roma pontificia* (Turin, 1998), 18, 38.
- ²⁶ Platina, *Historia de vitis pontificum* (1562), fol. 289^v; idem, *Historia de vitis pontificum* (1568), 392. See also Zapperi, *La leggenda*, 44–46.
- ²⁷ Luigi Staffetti, *Il cardinale Innocenzo Cybo* (Florence, 1894), 127–155 and *passim*; *Il libro di ricordi della famiglia Cybo*, ed. idem (= *Atti della Società ligure di storia patria*, 38, 1908), 290–292.
- ²⁸ Staffetti, *Innocenzo Cybo*, 250; *Il libro di ricordi*, 351–355.
- ²⁹ Carlo Sigonio (Venice) to Panvinio, 3 October 1558, in Gersbach, ‘Cybo Family Pride’, 132: ‘che questo non è da ridere, cioè l’haver a far con giovani ricchi et sdegnati’; Alberico Cibo (Massa) to Panvinio, 15 December 1558, *ibid.*, 136: ‘con l’occasione del presente mio gentilhuomo ... havendovi da exponere alcune cose a nome mio’. On Sigonio see W. McCuaig, *Carlo Sigonio: The Changing World of the Late Renaissance* (Princeton, NJ, 1989).
- ³⁰ Staffetti, ‘Introduzione’ to *Il libro di ricordi*, VII–LXXVII; Franco Bonatti, ‘Alberico Cybo e i letterati del suo tempo’, in *Il tempo di Alberico, 1553–1623: Alberico I Cybo-Malaspina: signore, politico e mecenate a Massa e a Carrara*, ed. Claudio Giumelli and Olga Raffo Maggini (Pisa, 1991), 233–249.
- ³¹ G.F. Foresti, *Sopplimento delle croniche universali*, ed. F. Sansovino, dedicated to Alberico Cibo (Venice, 1575), fol. 561^v: ‘figliuolo di Aron della famiglia Cibo nobile et honorata’.
- ³² Platina, *Historia de vitis pontificum* (1562), fols 264^v–265^v.

³³ Panvinio, *XXVII pontificum maximorum elogia et imagines*, dedicated to A. Cibo Malaspina (Rome, 1568); Gersbach, 'Cybo Family Pride', 127–129.

³⁴ For what follows, see Leo Allatius, 'De Alphonso Ciccarello', in id., *In antiquitatum Etruscarum fragmenta ... animadversiones* (Rome, 1642), 255–360; Alois Riegl, 'Alfonso Ceccarelli und seine Fälschungen von Kaiserurkunden', *Mittheilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung* 15 (1894), 193–236; Luigi Fumi, 'L'opera di falsificazione di Alfonso Ceccarelli', *Bollettino della Regia Deputazione di storia patria per l'Umbria* 8 (1902), 213–277; Armando Petrucci, 'Ceccarelli, Alfonso', in *Dizionario biografico degli italiani*, 23: 199–202; Franco Bonatti, 'Un falsario alla corte di Alberico', in *Alberico I Cybo Malaspina: il principe, la casa, lo Stato (1553–1623)* (Modena, 1995), 167–181; Bizzocchi, *Genealogie incredibili*, 9–13.

³⁵ For the sentence see Giusto Fontanini, *Difesa seconda del dominio temporale della Sede Apostolica sopra la città di Comacchio* (Rome, 1711), 319–326. Although the forged wills were the main reason for his punishment, it was also underlined that he had 'composed various false imperial privileges, genealogies and histories' and 'extorted' money for these from noblemen (*ibid.*, 320–321).

³⁶ Panvinio's copy: Annio of Viterbo, *Antiquitatum variarum volumina XVII* (Paris, 1512/1515). See Panvinio's 'Inventario de' libri e robbe' (autograph, c.1549–50), MS BAV, Vat. lat. 7205, fols 53^r–95^v, partly published in Karl A. Gersbach, 'The Books and Personal Effects of Young Onofrio Panvinio, O.S.A., in Vat. Lat. 7205', *Analecta Augustiniana* 52 (1989), 51–76, at 60–74.

³⁷ Grafton, 'Invention of Traditions'.

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- ³⁸ MSS: *Gentis Sabellae monumenta*, dedicated to Cardinal Giacomo Savelli, 1 Sep. [1555], Rome, Archivio di Stato, Archivio Sforza Cesarini, I^a parte, 33 (AA XXI, 1), fols 1^r–40^v (dated 1587); *De gente Sabella liber*, dedicated to Flaminio Savelli (1 May 1556), Rome, Biblioteca Casanatense, 1347, 63 fols (16th c.); *De gente Sabella liber*, Rome, Biblioteca Massimo (private), VI.B.5.25, 156 pp. (dated 1832). No autographs have been identified. Edition: Enrico Celani, “‘De gente Sabella’: manoscritto inedito di Onofrio Panvinio”, *Studi e documenti di storia e diritto* 12 (1891), 271–309; 13 (1892), 187–206.
- ³⁹ See Panvinio’s dedication to Giacomo Savelli, cited in Nicola Ratti, *Della famiglia Sforza*, 2 vols (Rome, 1794–1795), 2: 323 n. 1, and in Celani, “‘De gente Sabella’”, 274–275 n. 3. See also MS Rome, Archivio di Stato, fols 1^r (dedication), 40^v (colophon). For Roscio’s own efforts from 1587, see his *Monumenta aliquot familiae Sabellae*, MS Rome, Archivio di Stato, Archivio Sforza Cesarini, I^a parte, 33 (AA XXI, 2).
- ⁴⁰ *Avvisi di Roma*, 16 December 1587, ed. Johannes Albertus Franciscus Orbaan, ‘La Roma di Sisto V negli Avvisi’, *Archivio della Reale Società romana di storia patria* 33 (1910), 277–312, at 302: ‘altre volte famigliare del Cardinal Farnese et poco fa di Savello’.
- ⁴¹ *Avvisi di Roma*, 15 July 1587, *ibid.*, 299; Cesare D’Onofrio, *Scalinate di Roma* (Rome, 1974), 70–79; Antonio Iacobini, ‘Le porte bronzee medievali del Laterano’, in *Le porte di bronzo dall’antichità al secolo XIII*, ed. Salvatorino Salomi, 2 vols (Rome, 1990), 1: 71–95; Peter Cornelius Claussen, *Die Kirchen der Stadt Rom im Mittelalter 1050–1300*, 3 vols (Stuttgart, 2002–2010), 2: 316–318, 374–378.
- ⁴² Ingo Herklotz, ‘I Savelli e le loro cappelle di famiglia’, in *Roma anno 1300*, ed. Angiola Maria Romanini (Rome, 1983), 567–583, at 568.

⁴³ The version dedicated to Giacomo, dated 1 September, should therefore be assumed to have been finished in 1555.

⁴⁴ Panvinio, *De gente Sabella*, dedication to Flaminio Savelli, ed. Celani, 278–279: ‘quem hoc uno meo opusculo patronum mihi reddere quam maxime optabam’. For an exchange of letters between Massarelli and Panvinio in 1557–1558, see *Concilium Tridentinum: diariorum, actorum, epistularum, tractatum nova collectio*, 13 vols (Freiburg im Breisgau, 1901–2001), 1: XCVIII–IC. On Massarelli see Silvano Giordano, ‘Massarelli, Angelo’, in *Dizionario biografico degli italiani*, 71: 706–709.

⁴⁵ A. Massarelli, in *Concilium Tridentinum*, 1: 163, 4: 364–365 n. 2; Renato Lefevre, *Ricerche e documenti sull’Archivio Savelli* (Rome, 1992), *ad indicem* and, for his will, 117.

⁴⁶ See Panvinio, *De gente Sabella*, 280 (‘ut ex certis constat monumentis’), and for what follows, *ibid.*, 286–296. On the history of the Savelli family, see Ingrid Baumgärtner, ‘Savelli’, in *Die großen Familien Italiens*, ed. Volker Reinhardt (Stuttgart, 1992), 480–484.

⁴⁷ Panvinio owned: *Chronicum abbatis Urspergensis*, with a continuation by an unnamed author (i.e., Caspar Hedio) for the years 1230–1537/38 and a preface by Philip Melanchthon (Strasbourg, 1537 and 1540). See ILS, fol. 20^r.

⁴⁸ Panvinio owned a printed copy of Giovanni Villani’s chronicle in quarto format: *La prima [–seconda] parte delle historie universali de’ suoi tempi*, 2 vols (Venice, 1559). See ILS, fol. 23^r. For ‘Petrarca’ see Francesco Petrarca, *Vite dei pontefici e imperatori Romani* (Florence, c.1478–1479); three more editions of this supposititious work appeared in Venice between 1507 and 1534. See also Panvinio, ‘Auctores quibus tum in

hoc Chronico sive Fasteis, tum in Historia ecclesiastica conscribenda usi sumus', in his *Chronicon ecclesiasticum a C. Iulii Caesaris dictatoris imperio usque ad Imperatorem Caesarem Maximilianum II* (Cologne, 1568), sigs *3^r–A2^v, at sig. *3^r.

⁴⁹ Platina, *Historia de vitis pontificum* (1562), fols 163^r–164^r.

⁵⁰ Panvinio, *De gente Sabella*, 295. Giambattista was appointed a notary in 1505; see Archivio Segreto Vaticano, Cam. Ap., Div. Cam. 57, fols 185^r–186^r. My thanks to Andreas Rehberg for this reference.

⁵¹ On descriptions of tombs in Renaissance historiography see Stefan Bauer, 'Quod adhuc extat: le relazioni tra testo e monumento nella biografia papale del Rinascimento', *Quellen und Forschungen aus italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken* 91 (2011), 217–248.

⁵² Panvinio, *De gente Sabella*, 205–206 (second part of Celani's article).

⁵³ Helene Tillmann, 'Ricerche sull'origine dei membri del Collegio Cardinalizio nel XII secolo', part 1, *Rivista di storia della Chiesa in Italia* 24 (1970), 441–464; part 2/1, *ibid.*, 26 (1972), 313–353; part 2/2, *ibid.*, 29 (1975), 363–402, at 391–393; Renato Lefevre, 'Un papa Savelli (Onorio III) che non fu Savelli?', *Strenna dei romanisti* 52 (1991), 283–290; Sandro Carocci, *Baroni di Roma: dominazioni signorili e lignaggi aristocratici nel Duecento e nel primo Trecento* (Rome, 1993), 415–416; Sandro Carocci and Marco Vendittelli, 'Onorio III', in *Enciclopedia dei papi*, 3 vols (Rome, 2000), 2: 350–362; Viola Skiba, 'Onorio III: un pontefice dimenticato', in *Nuovi studi su Onorio III*, ed. Christian Grasso (Rome, 2017), 17–35.

⁵⁴ Panvinio, *De gente Sabella*, 280. For his research into ecclesiastical history, Panvinio, by his own account, consulted cathedral archives as well as those of monasteries,

religious orders, and other churches all over Italy. See his ‘Auctores quibus ... usi sumus’, sigs *4^v–A1^r (‘Variarum ecclesiarum archivaria a nobis visa’). This list included San Benedetto in Polirone (sig. *4^v).

⁵⁵ Panvinio, *De gente Sabella*, 280: ‘Datum Laterani per manum Cencii de Sabello Sanctae Luciae in Orphea diaconi cardinalis et domni papae camerarii’ (my italics).

Compare the edition of this bull in *Regesto mantovano: le carte degli archivi Gonzaga e di Stato in Mantova e dei monasteri mantovani soppressi* (Archivio di Stato in Milano), vol. 1 (no more publ.), ed. Pietro Torelli (Rome, 1914), 343–344, no. 538 (21 November 1194): ‘Datum Romae apud Sanctum Petrum per manum Centii Sancte Lucie in Orthea diaconi cardinalis domini pape camerarii.’

⁵⁶ Panvinio, *De gente Sabella*, 280: ‘Est quoque in eiusdem monasterii archivariis alia bulla Caelestini III, huic similis, anno V data.’ See *Regesto mantovano*, 1: 351–352, no. 554 (6 November 1195): ‘Datum Laterani per manum Cencii Sancte Lucie in Orthea diaconi cardinalis.’

⁵⁷ Panvinio, *De gente Sabella*, 281. See also idem, *De sacrosancta basilica, baptisterio et patriarchio Lateranensi libri IV*, ed. Philippe Lauer, *Le Palais de Latran* (Paris, 1911), 410–490, at 479; and above, 12.

⁵⁸ Paolo Cortesi, *De cardinalatu* (San Gimignano, 1510), fol. 36^r: ‘eodem tempore in iuris pontificalis intelligentia probatus Centius Sabellus fuit’; *ibid.*, in the margin: ‘Centius Sabellus tituli Sanctorum Ioannis et Pauli presbyter cardinalis’. Panvinio owned this work; see ILS, fol. 25^v.

⁵⁹ Panvinio, *De gente Sabella*, 297.

⁶⁰ Ibid., 283. See Werner Maleczek, *Papst und Kardinalskolleg von 1191 bis 1216: die Kardinäle unter Coelestin III. und Innocenz III.* (Vienna, 1984), 201–203.

⁶¹ Panvinio, *De gente Sabella*, 286; Burchard of Ursberg, *Chronicon*, 2nd edn by Oswald Holder-Egger and Bernhard von Simson (Hannover and Leipzig, 1916), 112: ‘Honorius III, qui prius fuerat Cencius nominatus fueratque camerarius cardinalium’.

⁶² Panvinio, *De gente Sabella*, 291; St Antoninus, *Chronica*, 3 vols (Lyons, 1543), vol. 3, fol. 30^v (pars 3, titulus 19, cap. 3): ‘Honorius III ... natione Romanus, de Sabellis’.

⁶³ Panvinio, *De gente Sabella*, 295.

⁶⁴ Paolo Brezzi, *Roma e l'impero medioevale (774–1252)* (Bologna, 1947), 417–425.

⁶⁵ Panvinio, *De gente Sabella*, 298: ‘promittimus nos satisfacturos ad mandatum ipsius domini papae, super *controversiis exortis tempore senatoriatus* Lucae de Sabello *nepotis quondam domini Papae Honorii III inter dictum dominum papam et senatum populumque Romanum* etc.’ (my italics; the citation was abbreviated by Panvinio himself). Compare the same document in *Les Registres de Grégoire IX*, ed. Lucien Auvray, 4 vols (Paris, 1890–1955), vol. 2, col. 301, no. 3032: ‘promittimus nos satisfacturos ad mandatum ipsius domini pape, super facto edificiis et obsidibus Montis Alti, iuramentis exactis tempore senatus Luce de Sabello et terminis positus tempore senatus eiusdem ...’

⁶⁶ Panvinio, *De gente Sabella*, 298–299: ‘Excommunicamus et anathematizamus ex parte Dei omnipotentis, Patris, Filii et Spiritus Sancti *Amen*, auctoritate beatorum apostolorum Petri et Pauli ac nostra, Lucam *de Sabello, nepotem felicitis recordationis Honorii Papae III praedecessoris nostri*, dictum Senatorem, Parentium et Ioannem de Cinthio ...’ (my italics). Compare *Epistolae saeculi XIII e regestis pontificum Romanorum selectae*, ed.

Carl Rodenberg, 3 vols (Berlin, 1883–1894), 1: 497, no. 591: ‘Excommunicamus et anathematizamus ex parte Dei omnipotentis, Patris, Filii et Spiritus Sancti, auctoritate quoque beatorum apostolorum Petri et Pauli ac nostra, Lucam dictum Senatorem, Parentium et Iohannem de Cinthio ...’

⁶⁷ Brezzi, *Roma e l'impero*, 420: ‘il più ardito assertore dei diritti e dell'autonomia cittadina vissuto nel 1200’.

⁶⁸ See above, n. 44.

⁶⁹ See MS Padua, Biblioteca Universitaria, 263 (16th–17th c.), which comes from San Giorgio Maggiore, Venice. On this MS see Vincenzo Forcella, *Catalogo dei manoscritti riguardanti la storia di Roma*, 5 vols (Rome and Turin, 1879–1885), 5: 27–28; Giorgio Ravegnani, *Le biblioteche del monastero di San Giorgio Maggiore* (Florence, 1976), 57–58, 81, 93; Alberto Bartola, ‘Introduzione’, in *Il Regesto del monastero dei Santi Andrea e Gregorio ad Clivum Scauri*, ed. idem, 2 vols (Rome, 2003), 1: VII–LXIX, at XXII–XXIV.

⁷⁰ See, e.g., Felice Maria Nerini, *De templo et coenobio sanctorum Bonifacii et Alexii historica monumenta* (Rome, 1752), 192 n. 8 and *passim*; Alberto Cassio, *Memorie istoriche della vita di Santa Silvia, matrona romana, madre del pontefice San Gregorio il Grande* (Rome, 1755), 53 and *passim*; *Annales Camaldulenses Ordinis Sancti Benedicti*, ed. Giovanni Benedetto Mittarelli and Anselmo Costadoni, 9 vols (Venice, 1755–1773), vol. 4, Appendix, col. 600 (Frangipane); Nerini, *De templo et coenobio*, 235 n. 36; Cassio, *Memorie*, 28, 70 n. 2, 71 (Massimo); *Annales Camaldulenses*, vol. 4, Appendix, col. 614; Cassio, *Memorie*, 67 (Mattei).

⁷¹ Gaetano Moroni, 'Savelli, famiglia', in his *Dizionario di erudizione storico-ecclesiastica*, 109 vols (Venice, 1840–1879), 61: 294–304, at 296: 'Sembra dunque con Panvinio doversi fissare in Aimerico il principio dei Savelli'; idem, 'Savelli, Tommaso', *ibid.*, 305: 'Fu di massima prudenza ... il suo nome si trova', which corresponds to Panvinio, *De gente Sabella*, 297: 'Hic fuit vir maximae prudentiae ... reperitur.'

⁷² Panvinio, *Romani pontifices et cardinales*, 133, 139.

⁷³ See Panvinio's preface to Cencio's *Ordo*, in Jean Mabillon, *Museum italicum*, 2 vols (Paris, 1687–1689), 2: 165.

⁷⁴ I cite from Panvinio, *De gente Fregepania libri IV*, MS BAV, Barb. lat. 2481, 139 fols (16th–17th c.). In the other manuscripts, there are no meaningful variants for the passages quoted here. See MSS Padua, Biblioteca Universitaria, 263, fols 85^r–192^r; Naples, Biblioteca nazionale, Branc. III E 14, 109 fols (17th c.); Rome, Biblioteca Angelica, Ang. lat. 77, 1–348 (18th c.); Rome, Biblioteca Massimo (private), VI.B.5.26, 422 pp. (dated 1831). A sixth MS (16th–17th c.) seems to be held in the Archivio Frangipane, Aiello del Friuli (private; not currently accessible); see Giuseppe Mazzatinti, *Gli archivi della storia d'Italia*, 9 vols (Rocca San Casciano, 1897–1915), 1: 12. No autographs have been identified.

⁷⁵ Paolo Panvinio, *Vita del Reverendo Padre Onofrio Panvinio*, in Davide Aurelio Perini, *Onofrio Panvinio e le sue opere* (Rome, 1899), 214–224, at 217. For Curzio Frangipane as *maggiordomo*, see the list of members of the Farnese court of 1 August 1554, in Fernand Benoît, 'Farnesiana, I–II', *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire* 40 (1923), 165–206, at 202. On Curzio see also Andrea Fara, 'La famiglia Frangipane di

Roma fra conservazione sociale e rinnovamento economico tra Quattro e Cinquecento: prime indagini', *Roma nel Rinascimento* (2018), 363–390, at 386–387.

⁷⁶ Anna Bedon, *Il Campidoglio: storia di un monumento civile nella Roma papale* (Milan, 2008), 59, 121.

⁷⁷ A successor as *deputato* was appointed on 5 December 1554: *ibid.*, 136, 344. For Curzio's age at his death, see Vincenzo Forcella, *Iscrizioni delle chiese e d'altri edifici di Roma*, 14 vols (Rome, 1869–1884), 2: 535, no. 610. The office of a chancellor is described in Pio Pecchiai, *Roma nel Cinquecento* (Bologna, 1948), 250.

⁷⁸ Ronald T. Ridley, 'To Protect the Monuments: The Papal Antiquarian (1534–1870)', *Xenia antiqua* 1 (1992), 117–154, at 117–122; Renato Lefevre, 'Il magnifico messer Mario Frangipane, deputato alle antichità (†1569)', *Strenna dei romanisti* 54 (1993), 197–205.

⁷⁹ Panvinio, *De gente Fregepania* (MS Barb. lat. 2481), preface, fols 1^r–3^r, at fols 2^v–3^r: 'Quae quum praeclarae memoriae Curtii fratris tui (hominis, qui eximiae probitati maxima quoque bonarum artium studia adiunxerat) aliquando retulissem, maxime se optare demonstravit ut ea quae collegeram cum plerisque aliis domus vestrae monumentis, quae me reperire posse dixeram, in unum corpus ad domus vestrae splendorem et ornamentum componerem. Amicissimi et de me maxime benemeriti hominis voluntati, quae praecepti mihi loco fuit, omnino satisfacere decreveram; iamque operi manus adposueram quum ecce, heu, mors illum immatura nobis eripuit. Successisti tu in fratris, cum quo semper concordissime vixeras, locum; opus a me eius iussu incoeptum perficere voluisti.'

⁸⁰ Ibid., fol. 3^r: ‘Incredibile dictu est quanto studio, quanta diligentia, quanto denique amore (ut res ipsa docebit) opus hoc inchoaverim, persecutus sim et confecerim, quum nobilissimae familiae (nulla enim extat, quae illustriora monumenta habeat) et de me benemeritae, a qua fortunae meae initia exorta sunt et quam ego a teneris usque annis adhuc invisam dilexi, historia mihi conscribenda esset.’

⁸¹ Leonardo di Serego Alighieri, ‘Alighieri, Iacopo III’, in *Enciclopedia Dantesca*, 6 vols (Rome, 1970–1978), 1: 145. On Ludovico see Arnaldo D’Addario, ‘Alighieri’, *ibid.*, 125–130, at 130.

⁸² Francesco Alighieri, *Antiquitates Valentinae* (Rome, 1537); Claudio Franzoni, ‘Francesco Alighieri, Benedetto Valenti e le *Antiquitates Valentinae*’, *Annali della Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa, Classe di lettere e filosofia*, ser. 3, 19 (1989), 877–891.

⁸³ Bizzocchi, ‘*Familiae Romanae* antiche e moderne’, 384; Édouard Bouyé, ‘Les armoiries imaginaires des papes: archéologie et apologétique romaines à la fin du XVI^e siècle’, in *La papauté à la Renaissance*, ed. Florence Alazard and Frank La Brasca (Paris, 2007), 589–618, at 600–601.

⁸⁴ Panvinio, *De gente Fregepania* (MS Barb. lat. 2481), Bk III.3, fols 59^v–62^v. See the remark by Franz Ehrle, ‘Die Frangipani und der Untergang des Archivs und der Bibliothek der Päpste am Anfang des 13. Jahrhunderts’, in *Mélanges offertes à M. Émile Chatelain par ses élèves et ses amis* (Paris, 1910), 448–485, at 453. On the history of the Frangipane family in general, see Bettina Arnold, ‘Frangipani’, in *Die großen Familien Italiens*, ed. Reinhardt, 277–286; Fara, ‘La famiglia Frangipane’.

⁸⁵ The chapters on the Michiel in Venice are published in Enrico Celani, “‘De gente Fregepania’ di Onofrio Panvinio”, *Nuovo archivio veneto* 5 (1893), 479–486.

⁸⁶ Matthias Thumser, ‘Die Frangipane: Abriß der Geschichte einer Adelsfamilie im hochmittelalterlichen Rom’, *Quellen und Forschungen aus italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken* 71 (1991), 106–163, at 107: ‘ein wahres Panoptikum an gesicherten und ungesicherten Materialien’.

⁸⁷ Roberto Bizzocchi, ‘La nobiltà in Dante, la nobiltà di Dante: cultura nobiliare, memoria storica e genealogia fra Medio Evo e Rinascimento’, *I Tatti Studies* 4 (1991), 201–215.

⁸⁸ Panvinio, *De gente Fregepania* (MS Barb. lat. 2481), Bk IV.2, fol. 130^r: ‘[Dantis] filii et nepotes Veronam regressi, inter cives cooptati sunt et usque ad nostra tempora sub familiae Danteae vocabulo omnibus honoribus in ea civitate functi illustresque facti supersunt, qui ex antiqua Fregepaniorum domo originem habent.’

⁸⁹ Bartòla, ‘Introduzione’, XVII–XXIV. Panvinio’s transcriptions from the *Regestum* are collected in MS BAV, Vat. lat. 6883, fols 162^r–208^r.

⁹⁰ See Thumser, ‘Frangipane’, 109 n. 6; and the documents from *De gente Fregepania* published in Andrea Augenti, *Il Palatino nel Medioevo: archeologia e topografia (secoli VI–XIII)* (Rome, 1996), 186–187.

⁹¹ Panvinio, *De gente Fregepania*, Bk IV.3 (ed. Celani, “‘De gente Fregepania’”, 484): ‘etiam in alio vetusto et manuscripto libro haec inveni’.

⁹² Alberto Bartòla, ‘Onofrio Panvinio e il Regesto del monastero dei Santi Andrea e Gregorio al Celio’, *Nuovi annali della Scuola speciale per archivisti e bibliotecari* 6 (1992), 101–112, at 111.

⁹³ I cite from Panvinio, *De gente Maxima libri duo*, MS Rome, Biblioteca Angelica, Ang. lat. 2581, fols 1^r–57^v (partly autograph). An edition of this text, based on MS BAV, Vat. lat. 6168, fols 165^r–224b^r (16th c.?), was published in *Spicilegium Romanum*, ed. Angelo Mai, 10 vols (Rome, 1839–1844), 9: 547–591 (dedication wrongly dated ‘1 May 1558’). For other MSS see: Padua, Biblioteca Universitaria, 263, fols 221^r–247^r; Naples, Biblioteca nazionale, Branc. IV B 4, fols 1^r–95^v (17th c.); Venice, Biblioteca Marciana, Marc. lat. XIV 78 (4330), 175–232 (18th c.) (Bk II only); Rome, Biblioteca Massimo, VI.B.5.27, 156 pp. (dated 1831).

⁹⁴ On the painting cycle see below, 28.

⁹⁵ See Pompeo Litta, *Famiglie celebri di Italia*, 184 fascs (Milan, 1819–1883), s.v. ‘Massimo di Roma’ (1839), tavola iii; and the note by Camillo Vittorio Massimo, in Panvinio, *De gente Maxima* (MS Biblioteca Massimo), 150.

⁹⁶ Bedon, *Il Campidoglio*, 59–60, 63, 78 n. 89.

⁹⁷ Panvinio, *De gente Maxima* (MS Biblioteca Angelica), dedication to Antonio Massimo, 1 May 1556, fols 2^r–5^r, at fol. 4^v: ‘qui iam de me benemeritus eras’ (Mai’s edition, 548, gives only the last part of the dedication).

⁹⁸ Panvinio, *De gente Maxima* (MS Biblioteca Angelica), Bks I–II, fols 6^r–48^r (Mai, 549–586).

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, Bk II, fol. 48^r (Mai, 587–588, omits two lines of the inscription).

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*: ‘Leo de Maximus’. ‘Leo de Maximus’ also appears in the Padua manuscript, fol. 242^r. The version ‘Leo de Maximis’ comes up in the manuscripts in Naples, the Vatican and Venice. For a critical edition of the inscription, see Patrizio Pensabene, *Frammenti antichi del convento di Sant’Alessio*; Attilio Degrassi, *La raccolta*

epigrafica del chiostro di Sant'Alessio, ed. Patrizio Pensabene (Rome, 1982), 73–74 and photograph, tavola 1. It reads, with abbreviations expanded by Degrassi: ‘Maximus hinc surget gemina cum pube suorum / et nata, superis dandus honore pio, / quos Sergestus acer patru(m) longo ordines eum, / illustres animas perque ducu(m) genera. / Mite genus hominu(m), sapiens, insigne, decorum/ nominis antiqui, consepelit tumulus. / Stephane, post patris interitu(m) Leo concidit imus/ postque tuum lapsu(m) atque sororis iter / extraneo nulli liceat supperadier istis/ aut, si quis violant, sint anathema deo. / Chr(ist)e, decus mundi, semper miserere sepultis / et loca fer pacis q(ui) bona cuncta facis. / Obiit dom(inu)s Leo de Maximus m(ense) April(i), d(ie) XXIII, indic(tione) XI, ann(o) Dom(inicae) / inc(arnationis) mil(lesimo) XII. † Ego dom(ina) Maria p(ro) magno amore fieri iussit.’ See also Ippolito Galante, ‘La inscripción sepulcral de Leo de Maximis’, *Anales de la Universidad de Chile*, ser. 2, 8 (1930), 1021–1031, with comments on Panvinio’s work.

¹⁰¹ Valeria Cafà, *Palazzo Massimo alle Colonne di Baldassarre Peruzzi: storia di una famiglia romana e del suo palazzo in rione Parione* (Venice, 2007), 157.

¹⁰² Panvinio, *De gente Maxima* (MS Biblioteca Angelica), Bk II, fol. 48^v; Degrassi, *Raccolta epigrafica*, 74. See also Nerini, *De templo et coenobio*, 320–322, who cited the entire paragraph in which Panvinio explained the inscription.

¹⁰³ Bartòla, ‘Panvinio e il Regesto’, 110. These documents were abbreviated substantially by Angelo Mai in his edition of the text.

¹⁰⁴ Panvinio, *De gente Maxima* (MS Biblioteca Angelica), Bk II, fol. 52^v (autograph addition in the margin) (Mai, 589): ‘in vetustissimo Rituali libro, quem ceremoniale vocant’. The passage quoted by Panvinio (‘De presbyterio quod datur pro arcubus ...

usque ad domum Maximorum XII solidi provisinorum') is in *Le 'Liber censuum' de l'Église Romaine*, ed. Paul Fabre and Louis Duchesne, 3 vols (Paris, 1889–1952), 1: 299.

¹⁰⁵ On such arches, see Susan Twyman, *Papal Ceremonial at Rome in the Twelfth Century* (London, 2002), 210–214. For Panvinio's research on classical Roman triumphs see William Stenhouse, 'Panvinio and *descriptio*: Renditions of History and Antiquity in the Late Renaissance', *Papers of the British School at Rome* 80 (2012), 233–56.

¹⁰⁶ Panvinio, *De gente Maxima* (MS Biblioteca Angelica), Bk II, fol. 53^r (ed. Mai, 590).

¹⁰⁷ Ceccarius, *I Massimo* (Rome, 1954), 10. On the Massimo in the fifteenth and early sixteenth century, see Valeria Cafà, 'I Massimo tra Quattro e Cinquecento: affari e ideali di una famiglia romana', *Rivista storica del Lazio* 12 (2004) no. 20, pp. 3–50.

¹⁰⁸ Tommaso di Carpegna Falconieri, 'I Massimo', in *Da Palazzo Massimo all'Angelica: manoscritti e libri a stampa di un'antica famiglia romana*, ed. Nicoletta Muratore (Rome, 1997), 7–27, at 9–10.

¹⁰⁹ Litta, *Famiglie celebri*, s.v. 'Massimo', tav. i: 'autorità di molto peso'. See also Bizzocchi, *Genealogie incredibili*, 26.

¹¹⁰ Roberto Guerrini, 'Plutarco e l'iconografia umanistica a Roma nel Cinquecento', in *Roma e l'antico nell'arte e nella cultura del Cinquecento*, ed. Marcello Fagiolo (Rome, 1985), 87–108, at 103. On the frescoes, see also Cafà, *Palazzo Massimo*, 232–254. On Pietro Massimo: *ibid.*, 156–169 and *passim*; eadem, 'I Massimo', 39–41.

Another way in which the Massimo (and other noble families) showed their connection to antiquity was by collecting and displaying statues and portraits of famous men. See Kathleen Wren Christian, *Empire without End: Antiquities Collections in Renaissance*

Rome, c. 1350–1527 (New Haven, CT, 2010), esp. Ch. 4: ‘Fictive Genealogies and Ancestral Collections in Fifteenth-Century Rome’, 63–89.

¹¹¹ Ceccarius, *I Massimo*, 7: “On dit, Monsieur, que vous descendez de Fabius Maximus. Cela n’est pas vrai.” “Je ne saurais en effet le prouver”, ripose il patrizio romano con orgogliosa nobiltà, “c’est un bruit qui ne court que depuis douze cents ans dans notre famille.””

¹¹² I cite from Panvinio, *De gente nobili Matthaeia liber*, MS Padua, Biblioteca Universitaria, 263, fols 193^r–220^r (contains both dedications), having verified that there were no meaningful variants in the three other accessible MSS: London, British Library, Add. MS 8407, fols 2^r–59^v (17th c.); New Haven, CT, Yale University, Beinecke Library, Gen Mss Vol 294, 74 pp. (not numbered) (17th c.?); Rome, Biblioteca Massimo (private), VI.B.5.24, 195 pp. (dated 1834) (a copy of the currently inaccessible MS Archivio Antici-Mattei). Three more MSS cannot be located at this moment: one was seen by Ferdinand Gregorovius in the Archivio Santacroce in Rome before 1870; another was in the Archivio Antici-Mattei in Recanati until at least 1944; a third, in a precious binding with Mattei arms, was sold at auctions in London, 1936, and Geneva, 1951. A lengthy section of Panvinio’s text (‘Ex libro Onuphrii Panvini Veronensis *De gente Mattheia* haec sunt notata’), furthermore, was inserted into a work by Alfonso Ceccarelli (d. 1583), *Secondo tomo della serenissima nobiltà dell’alma città di Roma*, MS BAV, Vat. lat. 4910, fols 168^r–175^r. See also Bartòla, ‘Panvinio e il Regesto’, 108. No autographs have been found.

¹¹³ Panvinio, *De gente nobili Matthaeia* (MS Padua), dedication to Giacomo Mattei (‘Iacobo Matthaeio Petriantonii filio Paparesco’), fol. 194^r: ‘tanquam eius gentis primo

homini’. MS London, British Library, Add. 8407, fols 2^r–59^v, at fol. 2^r, has ‘primario homini’.

¹¹⁴ Panvinio, *De gente nobili Matthaeia* (MS Padua), dedication to Muzio Mattei (‘Mutio Matthaeio Ludovici filio Paparesco’), fol. 194^v.

¹¹⁵ Ibid., fol. 195^r (‘De origine Matthaeiae gentis’): ‘Matthaeiorum gentis Transtiberinae inter Romanas primariae ante quingentos annos diversorum sub appellatione nominum illustria monumenta extant. Primum enim Ioannis Guidonis, item Cencii Guidonis, postea de Papa vel de Paparescis, deinde de Romano, postremo Matthaeiorum nomen adepta est.’ On Panvinio’s tracing of this lineage, see Giuseppe Antici-Mattei, ‘Cenni storici sulle nobili e antiche famiglie Antici, Mattei e Antici-Mattei’, part 1: ‘Gli Antici’, *Rivista araldica* 39 (1941), 3–17, 66–77, 109–21, 146–165, 204–216, 257–269, 305–319, 343–352, 404–413; part 2: ‘I Mattei’, *ibid.*, 433–458; 40 (1942), 17–29, 75–85, 115–124, 150–161, 249–262; 41 (1943), 63–69, 87–95, 164–173, 231–238, 265–273, 299–309, 336–350; 42 (1944), 36–75 (no more publ.); in part 2 at 433, 448–458 (vol. 39, 1941) and 24–27, 75–80 (vol. 40, 1942).

¹¹⁶ More recent scholars, perhaps less prudently, traced the Papareschi back to earlier than the year 1000: Giuseppe Marchetti Longhi, *I Papareschi e i Romani* (Rome, 1947), 6–33; Antici-Mattei, ‘Cenni storici’. See the negative comment about Marchetti Longhi’s approach by Carocci, *Baroni di Roma*, 343.

¹¹⁷ Panvinio, *De gente nobili Matthaeia* (MS Padua), fols 196^r–208^r.

¹¹⁸ *Liber pontificalis*, ed. Louis Duchesne, 3 vols (Paris, 1886–1957), 2: 379: ‘Innocentius II, natione Romanus de regione Trans Tyberim, ex patre Iohanne, qui et Gregorius, diaconus cardinalis Sancti Angeli’. On the *Liber pontificalis*, see also Stefan

Bauer, 'The *Liber pontificalis* in the Renaissance', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* (forthcoming).

¹¹⁹ On this church see Claussen, *Kirchen*, 3: 9–14.

¹²⁰ Panvinio, *De gente nobili Matthaeia* (MS Padua), fol. 195^v: 'Inscriptio vero est eiusmodi: "Notum sit cunctis instructis norma legendi quod praesens opus ad laudem Virginis almae atque Nicolai beatissimi nomine factum confici mandavit Cinthius vocabulo dictus, quem Dominus Petrus Papa ratione dotavit. Moribus et vita nobili de sanguine natus, originem sumpsit de stipite Pontificatus et fuit nepos Innocentii Papae secundi." Deinde subditur: "Hoc opus fieri fecit Cinthius Domini Petri Papae de filiis Ioannis Guidonis Papae, clericus Sancti Hadriani, ad honorem Dei et Beatae Mariae et Sancti Nicolai." Cuius gentis insignia in pulpito illo incisa sunt eiusmodi [empty space follows in MS]. Ex quibus verbis satis manifestum est ex familia de Papa, quae et "de filiis Ioannis Guidonis" dicebatur, Innocentium II ortum fuisse.' MS London, fol. 6^r, has: 'en fuit nepos'.

¹²¹ In defence of Chacón (1530–1599) it should be noted that his work was published posthumously, so it might have been the editor who placed the line too close to the inscription. See Alfonso Chacón, *Vitae et gesta summorum pontificum a Christo domino usque ad Clementem VIII necnon Sanctae Romanae Ecclesiae cardinalium*, 2 vols (Rome, 1601), 1: 461. See also Claussen, *Kirchen*, 3: 12.

¹²² Panvinio, *De gente nobili Matthaeia* (MS Padua), fol. 208^r: 'Adrianus IV circa annum Domini 1158 cardinalem etiam ex hac gente creavit Cinthium Guidonis, Innocentii II Papae fratris pronepotem; cui Sancti Hadriani diaconiam, in qua clericus fuerat, concessit. Hunc eum esse existimo, de quo versus supra citati et exarati in Ecclesia

Sancti Iacobi ad portam Septinianam Transtiberim in pulpito lapideo incisi mentionem faciunt ... Obiit sub Lucio III circa annum Christi 1185.’ In MS London, fol. 32^r, the words ‘et exarati’ and ‘in pulpito lapideo incisi’ are missing. See also Panvinio’s annotation to the life of Innocent II, in Platina, *Historia de vitis pontificum* (1562), fol. 148^v.

¹²³ Johannes Maria Brixius, *Die Mitglieder des Kardinalkollegiums von 1130–1181* (Berlin, 1912), 59; Barbara Zenker, *Die Mitglieder des Kardinalkollegiums von 1130 bis 1159* (Würzburg, 1964), 154–155; *Regesta Imperii* (<http://www.regesta-imperii.de/regesten/suche.html>), entering the search terms ‘Cinthius’ and ‘Cynthius’.

¹²⁴ Fioravante Martinelli, *Roma ex ethnica sacra Sanctorum Petri et Pauli apostolica praedicatione profuso sanguine publicae venerationi exposita* (Rome, 1653), 117. The second inscription reads: ‘Tumulatus hic iacet clericali diademate dotatus / Cynthius nominatus nobili prosapia natus, / Et sublimatus in antiana Domo locatus / MCCCCV’.

¹²⁵ Marchetti Longhi, *I Papareschi*, 38; Tillmann, ‘Ricerche’, 2/1, 330–334.

¹²⁶ Carocci, *Baroni di Roma*, 343; Tommaso di Carpegna Falconieri, ‘Innocenzo II’, in *Enciclopedia dei papi*, 2: 261–268, at 261.

¹²⁷ Panvinio, *De gente nobili Matthaeia* (MS Padua), fol. 213^r: ‘De Cinthio clerico ... extat sepulchrum in Ecclesia Sancti Iacobi de Septiniano cum insignis gentilitiis ex musiv^o.’ It is interesting that MS London, fol. 45^v, lacks the words ‘cum insignis gentilitiis ex musivo’, so that this manuscript represents perhaps a different draft of Panvinio’s text. See also n. 122, above.

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- ¹²⁸ Martinelli, *Roma ex ethnica sacra*, 117: ‘Aliud ex Panvinio M.S. de gente Matthaëia desumptum subnectere volui, quia mutilum et mendosum legitur in nova Ciaconii *De vitis pontificum et cardinalium* editione’. See Figure 4.
- ¹²⁹ Christian Hülsen, *Le chiese di Roma nel medio evo: cataloghi ed appunti* (Florence, 1927), XLIII.
- ¹³⁰ Gregorio Giacomo Terribilini, Notes on Roman churches, vol. 4, MS Rome, Biblioteca Casanatense, 2180, fol. ‘23a/1’^{r-v}. He cited from Panvinio both the inscription and the passage discussing Cardinal Cinzio (which in the Padua MS are on fols 195^v, 208^r). See Forcella, *Iscrizioni*, 6: 323; Hülsen, *Chiese*, LIV–LV.
- ¹³¹ Pietro Fedele, ‘Le famiglie di Anacleto II e di Gelasio II’, *Archivio della Reale Società Romana di Storia Patria* 27 (1904), 399–440, at 425–428; Tillmann, ‘Ricerche’, 2/1, 333–334. Tillmann believed that it was more likely that Ceccarelli was the culprit than Panvinio.
- ¹³² Ceccarelli, ‘Ex libro Onuphrii Panvini Veronensis *De gente Mattheia* [...] notata’, fol. 169^r: ‘nobiles viri Centius et Oddo Fraiapanes, Leo Petri Leonis, Centius *Ioannis Guidonis domni pape nepos* et eius fratres Ioannes et Maximus’ (my italics); Ceccarelli’s claim that Muzio gave him a ‘Historia di casa Mattheia’: *ibid.*, fol. 175^r. For the first passage see also Fedele, ‘Le famiglie’, 427 n. 1.
- ¹³³ Panvinio, *De gente nobili Matthaëia* (MS Padua), fol. 209^r: ‘nec non Urbis nobilium Centii et Odonis Fraiepanum, Leonis Petri Leonis cum fratribus suis Ioanne et Maximo’. There are no variants in the manuscripts in London, New Haven and Rome.
- ¹³⁴ Panvinio, *De gente Fregepania* (MS Barb. lat. 2481), Bk III.7, fol. 79^r: ‘et nobilibus Urbis Cencio et Oddone Fraiapane, Leone Petri Leonis cum fratribus suis,

Cencio Guidonis cum fratribus suis et multis aliis nobilibus’. The other manuscripts of *De gente Fregepania* in Naples, Padua and Rome have also been compared. For this document and editions of it, see *Regesto del monastero dei Santi Andrea e Gregorio*, ed. Bartòla, 2: 31–33.

¹³⁵ Alfonso Ceccarelli, *Memorie delle parole formali tratte dalli proprii auctori i quali fanno mentione dell’antichissima Casa Savella*, MS Rome, Archivio di Stato, Archivio Sforza Cesarini, I^a parte, 33 (AA XXI, 4).

¹³⁶ Camillo Massimo, *Memorie storiche della chiesa di San Benedetto in Piscinula nel rione Trastevere* (Rome, 1864), 101–102.

¹³⁷ Antonio Agustín (Rome) to Panvinio (Parma), 24 July 1557, in his *Epistolario*, ed. Cándido Flores Sellés (Salamanca, 1980), 264: ‘La patria mia è Zaragoza, capo del reame di Aragona. Fu colonia di Romani fatta di Augusto Cesare et da lui prese il nome di Caesaraugusta ... Se io fussi papa, che Dio non voglia, diriano che Augusto lasciò figliuoli in quel luogo mei progenitori. Hora che son pover huomo diranno che descendo d’un frate di Sant’Agostino.’ See also Bizzocchi, ‘*Familiae Romanae* antiche e moderne’, 375.

¹³⁸ Panvinio, *De gente nobili Matthaeia* (MS Padua), fol. 194^r: ‘inter alia Columnae, Ursinae, Sabellae, Fregepaniae, Maximae et Cinciae familiarum genera concinnavi’.

¹³⁹ See ILS, fol. 16^v, where Panvinio listed histories of the Colonna, Orsini and Cenci among the quarto manuscripts in his possession.

¹⁴⁰ Francesco Sansovino (Venice) to Panvinio, 10 June 1564, in Perini, *Panvinio*, 258–259: ‘mi sono di molto innamorato di lei’; F. Sansovino, *La historia delle cose fatte in diversi tempi da’ signori di casa Orsina* (Venice, 1564).

¹⁴¹ See Panvinio's list of his works, 'Le opere che ho composte le soglio dividere in quattro parti' (autograph), MS BAV, Vat. lat. 7762, fols 560^{r-v}, 563^r, at fol. 560^v: 'dell' historia di casa di Cenci libri dua a M. Christoforo Cenci Chierico di Camera'. His family histories were listed in a section on books that had 'come out' but were 'not printed' ('libri usciti fuori, ma non stampati'). The history of the Orsini was not included here. Panvinio published his list of works in Girolamo Ruscelli, *Le imprese illustri* (Venice, 1566), 534.

¹⁴² Alfred von Reumont, *Geschichte der Stadt Rom*, 3 vols in 4 parts (Berlin, 1867–1870), 3/1: 476.

¹⁴³ Nerini, *De templo et coenobio*, 329 n. 26.

¹⁴⁴ On Camillo Vittorio Massimo, see di Carpegna Falconieri, 'I Massimo', 21–27. My thanks to Donna Isabella Massimo for granting me access to her family's library.